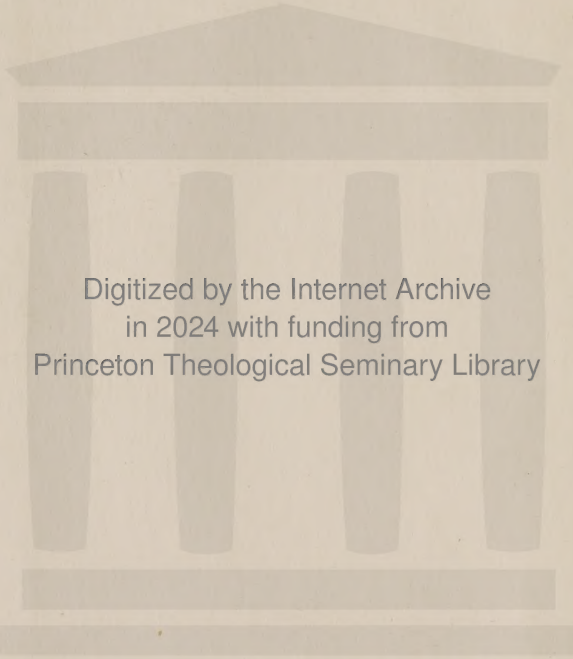


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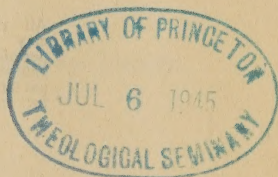
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THE LORD'S SUPPER IN PROTESTANTISM

by ELMER S. FREEMAN



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DEDICATION

TO MY FATHER

The finest Christian gentleman I have ever known.

part of the clergy more information, doubtless, but an imperfect understanding of how best to use the Lord's Supper to generate among the people the enormous spiritual values it actually possesses. If this book should succeed at all in enlightening laity and clergy concerning the historical background, the meaning and use, and the spiritual power resident in this act of worship, it will have fulfilled its purpose.

I have tried to direct its appeal primarily, perhaps, to the clergy of our Protestant Churches. But I should hope it would also find a reading among Church office-bearers—deacons, elders, Sunday School teachers, and others in positions of lay leadership in our congregations. And I hope it may be found useful, finally, in theological seminaries, and in summer conferences of adults and young people of college age.

In order that the reading may not be unduly interrupted by too many footnotes on too many pages, I have placed them for the most part at the end of the book. There, the more scholarly-inclined reader may find and use them for further investigation into a vast subject to which this little book can be no more than the simplest prolegomena.

I should like to acknowledge with sincere gratitude the help and inspiration of Rev. Albert W. Palmer, D.D., President of Chicago Theological Seminary, in the early stages of research and writing of this book, and also the invaluable assistance rendered by Mr. and Mrs. Hayward S. Biggers, of my own parish, in the reading of proof and the final preparation of the book for publication.

E. S. F.

Menasha, Wisconsin
January, 1945

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INTRODUCTION

VARIOUS HUMAN QUALITIES have been suggested as the essential points at which man differs from the "lower" animals. Some observe that a man thinks, while animals do so only to a limited extent. A man plans for the future at long range; animals look forward, if at all, no farther than, for example, a squirrel storing nuts for the winter immediately ahead. A man laughs, and has a sense of humor, of which there is little or no evidence among animals. And there are numerous other suggested points of division also, of which these are only examples.

On the ethical level, man has a sense which permits him to distinguish between abstract concepts of right and wrong. An animal can hardly be said to be able to determine more than what courses of action are successful and what ones are unsuccessful in procuring for him food, shelter, and perhaps a mate.

All these distinctions are substantially true. But there is another distinction which is certainly an absolute one—man worships. It is inconceivable that even the most intelligent animal has any concept of what a man would call spiritual reality, or a realization that there is a portion of the universe beyond this immediate world of sense. To an animal, if he sees the stars at all, they would be no more than tiny points of light. To a man, the stars are known to be other "worlds"

at certain distances and of certain dimensions, from the physical viewpoint. More than that, to a man the stars *represent*, as they could not possibly do for an animal, the whole marvelous orderly arrangement of the universe.

Beyond the stars, so to say, the animal sees nothing. Beyond "the spacious firmament on high" man—even the most primitive man—can apprehend the existence of God. Between the highest animal and the lowest man there is an absolute distinction at this point. The highest animal has no concept of God and therefore none of worship. The lowest man has both, rudimentary though they may be.

The basis of any religious sense is, of course, the idea of personality. Only a *person* can be religious. Reverence in the presence of a reality greater than oneself is a quality which can occur only in the presence of personality. Hence only a *person* can worship; only a *person* can experience reverence which leads to worship. For worship arises out of the feeling of awe and wonder which a man has in the presence of something he believes to be real (though not necessarily tangible) outside of and greater than himself. Worship is the expression of that impulse toward reverence in thought, word, or act, or any combination of them.

Personality in the worshiper usually argues in the direction of personality associated with the reality toward which worship is directed. But we must not universalize this, or we should thereby exclude from the goodly company of those who worship large sections of the human race who do worship an *impersonal* spiritual reality. Yet the urge is very strong to attribute to God the qualities of personality we are

conscious of possessing in ourselves. Even in religions which in theory—and in their officially formulated theology—do not admit the existence of a personal God, concessions almost always have to be made to the common run of worshipers in the direction of allowing them to attribute at least some qualities of personality to their concept of God. Buddhism, for example, in its pure form, as taught by Gautama Buddha, is pantheistic almost to the point of atheism. Yet contemporary Buddhism, especially where it is in contact with such strongly monotheistic and personalistic faiths as Christianity or Islam, tends to make Buddha himself the personal object of worship.*

Contemporary Humanism—written with a capital H, and considered as a definite ethico-religious movement, which in Western civilization it certainly is—is in a somewhat different case. Here personality in God is explicitly denied. It is, by definition, almost a-theistic, though most Humanists would concede, probably, the existence of some Source of the high ethical principles which many of them so admirably profess and practice. Yet even without a clear-cut belief in God, and certainly without belief in a personal God, Humanists do worship. They assemble themselves together in churches; they pray and sing hymns; their ministers preach sermons—often very excellent sermons. All these are clearly acts of religious worship.

The practice of worship, therefore, is practically universal among men, as the expression of that quality of “religiousness” which differentiates man most sharply

* It has, for example, in Hawaii, adopted a hymnology which includes such hymns as “How Sweet the Name of Buddha Sounds” and “Buddha, Saviour, Pilot Me.”

from the animal. In early stages of civilization, this worship is crude and primitive, as even a cursory study of comparative religions will show. Animism, the worship of nature spirits, and fetichism, the worship of significant material images of one kind or another, are, among others, clearly recognizable stages in the development of religion. Polytheism, the worship of more than one God, is another way station on the road toward an ethical monotheism represented at its highest level (at least so we Christians believe) by Christianity.

As has already been suggested, religion, even in its more primitive stages, presupposes personality in the worshiper. On its higher levels, it also believes in the personality of the Object of worship—that is, God.* For Christians, the personality of God is expressed and mediated to humanity through the historic person Jesus Christ. Christian worship, therefore, has as its objective the creation and maintenance of personal relationship between man and God through Christ. At its best, however, Christian worship does not stop with merely the creation and maintenance of that relationship. This step alone may be represented by mysticism, an inward and spiritual self-identification of the individual worshiper with God. It is perfectly valid so far as it goes. But certainly the most profound mystics would not stop with this purely individualistic act of worship. They would readily admit the social aspect of Christian faith, and therefore of Christian worship. Since Christianity is a faith of fellowship, Christian worship must—and at its best always does—address

* Humanists, of course, would desire to debate the use of the adjective “higher” in this connection. But it would be profitless to enter here into a discussion which would take us so far afield.

itself also to the creation in the worshiper of ethical attitudes and ethical conduct toward his fellow men.

Integral to most religions of the higher type are what are called sacraments—rites and ceremonies designed to assist in keeping open, so to speak, the channels of communication between man and God. Christianity, as everyone knows, has two which are almost universally observed within its spiritual household—Baptism and the Lord's Supper. It is the second of these which is the subject of this book.

CHAPTER I

AT THE LORD'S TABLE

ONE OF THE MOST EXPLICIT commands which Jesus is reported to have given his disciples is that one which has been reproduced through all the years of Christian history as the Lord's Supper. Under different names—"Mass" to Roman Catholics, "Eucharist" in the Eastern Orthodox Church, "Holy Communion" to Anglicans, "Lord's Supper" to Protestants—this Christian rite has been observed in fulfillment of this command generally believed among us to have issued from the lips of our Lord himself, "Do this in remembrance of me." Though the command, if given at all, was addressed specifically to the Twelve gathered with Jesus in the upper room, it has been assumed by practically all Christians that he did not mean they alone should observe it, but that it should apply as well to all those who should follow after them in the Christian way of life.

Since this simple beginning, various things have happened to the Lord's Supper—some of them good, some of them bad. One would hardly recognize it in the sumptuously appalled High Mass in a Roman Catholic cathedral or the solemn Eucharist in a Greek Orthodox Church—yet in essence it is there. That simple act which in the New Testament is told in a few hundred words has become the subject of elaborate theological

speculations filling more library shelves than there are sentences in the original narrative. Most unhappy result of all—the Lord's Supper has been used as a shibboleth, a barrier of words, to set apart and keep apart groups of Christian people who are actually, in heart and spirit, dedicated to the same great religious purpose.

At the same time, it has ministered comfort to unnumbered thousands of other human souls in their hours of spiritual need, and has assumed so vital a position in Christian practice that, with the exception of the Society of Friends, who observe no sacraments at all, no Christian Church fails to carry out the direction "Do this in remembrance of me" as an integral part of its witness.

Because even religious men do not always think alike (some would say "especially" instead of "even" in this respect), the importance attached to the observance of the Lord's Supper has varied greatly through the centuries. Hence we have the situation of today, wherein the Catholic branch of Christianity's great river of devotion gives a central—indeed almost exclusive—place in worship to the Lord's Supper, while in the Protestant house of faith it plays a far less prominent role.

Every Roman Catholic priest must say Mass every day, a rule inflexible save for very grave excuse. The principal service of worship every Sunday and Holy Day in every Roman Catholic Church is the Mass. (The only exception to this is Good Friday, when the elements of bread and wine are not consecrated, in the "Mass of the Pre-sanctified"). Most other services of worship and devotion in that Church are closely related

to it. Confession on the part of the communicant is an indispensable preliminary to reception of the Communion at Mass. A Roman Catholic priest is trained to say Mass where relatively little attention is given to his training to preach. Of the Catholic Church of the Eastern tradition much the same is true, the Eucharist being the center of worship and devotion on practically every occasion when their people gather for worship.

One need not assume to sit in judgment and say this is *overemphasis*, but beyond doubt it is far *greater* emphasis upon Jesus': "Do this, in remembrance of me," than upon, for example, his other words, such as: "Go, preach, teach, heal."

In the Churches which stem from the Reformation movement it is quite otherwise, although among them there is wide variation of practice. In general, Churches of Lutheran origin and background are more likely to be found on "high" sacramentarian ground. They celebrate the Lord's Supper more frequently, surround it with greater warmth and color of ceremonial, and in the interpretation of it make larger place for sacerdotalism—the place and function of the priest—and the element of mystery. At the other extreme of the scale are Churches which observe the Lord's Supper but once annually, as in certain Churches in Scotland.

Frequency of observance is not, of course, an infallible criterion of the importance attached to the Lord's Supper. The Scotch Church just cited, observing the Sacrament annually, may by that very infrequency invest it with a solemnity which would be most impressive. Generally speaking, however, by the manner in which are combined the factors of frequency, care in preparation on the part both of minister and people,

dignity, definiteness, and perhaps elaborateness in the accompanying ceremonial may be judged the importance attached by one Church or another to its observance of the Lord's Supper.

Judged by this standard, the general run of Protestant Churches have become, in the present century, rather casual in their attitude toward it. The pulpit has cast the altar into deep shadow. It is not uncommon to find many people, ordinarily regular attendants at the "preaching service," deliberately absenting themselves when the Lord's Supper is to be celebrated. Protestant teaching from the pulpit concerning it is muddy and uncertain. And "if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?"

The Anglican Churches—historically Catholic and preferentially Protestant—occupy middle ground in this as in so many other respects. Their historically Catholic heritage assures a norm of regularity, relative frequency, and dignified ceremonial in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. At the same time, except for the extremest Anglo-Catholic wing, the Anglican position concerning the teaching of the rite is measurably Protestant. (This is discussed more fully in Chapter VII.) The name, "The Lord's Supper," is retained in the Prayer Books of the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, along with and alternative to "Holy Communion," instead of "The Mass." The service is in a language understood by the people, not Latin. Both the bread and the cup are administered to the people. Confession is optional, and in the majority of Anglican and American Episcopal Churches not generally practised. Pulpit and altar are, it is fair to say, more nearly coordinate than in the

Roman and Greek Catholic Churches, where the latter dominates, or in the Protestant Churches, where the former occupies the commanding position. This Anglican *via media*, if slightly anomalous, yet has elements of strength which will be considered later.

To discover and assign reasons for the state of affairs just described is not relevant here, even if it were possible within the limits of the present writing. Our purpose is rather to attempt an evaluation of the Lord's Supper which will be, so far as possible, true to the intent of Jesus, intelligible and credible in the light of contemporary knowledge, and inspiring when translated into terms of corporate worship.

The present is particularly opportune for such an attempt. There has been, within the last two or three decades, a marked revival of the attention given to worship throughout Protestant Churches. Realization is dawning that the cultivation of a mood and a spirit of reverence will do much toward cancelling the too prevalent mores of secularism and cynicism.

Dr. G. A. Johnston Ross ¹ suggests that the worship of the future—and, we might add, of the present as well—ought to possess, among other characteristics, these three:

Volitional and emotional as well as intellectual elements.

A return to the *gladness* of early Christian worship.

The restoration of the altar.

¹ All notes will be found in the back of the book, arranged by chapters, on pages 160-167.

“Just to maintain (reverence and) worship,” says Sperry,² “is doing society the greatest possible service,” and Dwight Bradley³ adds, “We need to regain our conviction as to the importance, nay, the imperative necessity, of authentic worship.”

Contributory to greater reality in worship there are, as most people would maintain, several elements, including architecture, liturgy, and sacrament. It may be conceded that worship of a very real sort may take place anywhere and under any circumstances. One dimly recalls reading somewhere the story in verse of the old deacon who fell into the well, and who after his rescue told his minister that in that place and emergency he had voiced “the prayin’est prayer” he had ever said. But when we are thinking, primarily, of corporate worship in church, it is obvious that beautiful buildings, noble liturgies, and the observance of stated sacraments are unquestionably aids to reality in worship.

In these days there is increasing realization of the importance of these things. Modern churches are built more like temples, and less like barns, roundhouses, or high school auditoriums. Altars rather than serried ranks of brass organ pipes are coming to occupy the center of vision in our places of worship. Liturgies are being developed which, if not traditional in phraseology, at least recognize that, as D. H. Hislop⁴ says, “Worship moves in two directions—upward (the soul seeking after God) and downward (the soul bowed down before the face of the Eternal).”

In this development, the place of sacramental worship is looming larger and larger. We shall leave for a later chapter (VIII) more precise definition of the

meaning of the term "sacrament," particularly as applied to the Lord's Supper. But it may be said here that certainly this rite always has been and still is, for Christians, the Sacrament *par excellence*. It includes what Hislop⁵ points out as the three essential elements in the content of worship——

- (1) Something is done—an act is performed.
- (2) Something is depicted—the drama of divine and human life is represented.
- (3) Something is uttered—man speaks to God and God speaks to man.

And more and more, among both clergy and lay people, the certainty is growing that A. L. Lilley⁶ is at least partially right in saying, "For some—among them the most deeply religious—the warm reality of the Sacraments has superseded the arid intellectualism of preaching as a means of access to the religious life. Such people are likely to feel that the Sacraments express more adequately than anything else the reality of the Church." Many of us would want to dispute the implication that preaching is necessarily "arid intellectualism," though certainly some of it is. It may be, also, that many would wish to stop a little short of saying, as he does, that the Sacraments have "superseded" preaching as the key to reality in worship. But surely his desire to give the Sacraments a much larger place and emphasis in Christian worship will find a responsive echo in the minds of all those who would "worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness."

CHAPTER II

THE LAST SUPPER

IT HAS BEEN SAID by one writer,¹ "If the express Acts of Divine Institution were ever to be disproved, the Sacraments would cease to be." To many Christians—perhaps to most—that would seem to be a needlessly sweeping and dogmatic statement. Even if we had no record that Jesus directed baptism, it is easily conceivable that that sign and symbol of Christian allegiance might well have been adopted by the Church. In the same way, even though all New Testament records of the Last Supper were lacking, it is well within the bounds of probability that something not unlike this rite might have been devised by the primitive Church as a tangible memory of him who to many of its members had come to have what Bishop Gore once called "the values of God." As Canon Quick² says, "Even if Baptism and the Holy Communion were not expressly appointed by Jesus, they are still *sui generis* to his whole character and outlook."

At the same time, it certainly adds to our understanding and appreciation of the Lord's Supper, as well as providing the decisive incentive for keeping it alive, to read in the New Testament the accounts there set down of its institution at the hands of Jesus.

We say that the rite of worship which the Church calls the Lord's Supper is recorded in the New Testa-

ment. That is not strictly accurate. What is recorded in the New Testament is the *Last Supper*, the occasion shortly before Jesus' crucifixion when he met with the disciples in an upper room of a house in Jerusalem. The Lord's Supper as a Christian rite of worship is based on the Last Supper, but is itself no more than hinted at in the New Testament. Therefore we must examine with some care the accounts of the *Last Supper*, in order to see whether the act of worship which has grown out of it is validly grounded there.

To do so we must attempt to answer, in order, the following queries: (1) Did Jesus in fact meet with the disciples in the upper room before he was crucified? (2) What did they do? (3) If they had a meal together, was it the Passover meal, or something different; and did Jesus, during or after this meal, break and distribute bread, and share with the Twelve a cup? (4) Did Jesus intend this to be repeated "as oft as ye shall drink it" in memory of him? (5) If he did not so intend, and did not so instruct them, whence came the custom of the early Christian Church of doing so?

There are available for study, in the New Testament itself, five principal sources, viz., the three synoptic gospels, Matthew, Mark, and Luke; the first epistle to the Corinthians; and the Fourth Gospel, attributed to John. The references in the Book of Acts (Acts 2:42-47; 20:7; 27:33) belong more accurately to the discussion of the Lord's Supper and the Agape in the next chapter. Unfortunately, not one of these gives a complete, definitive account free from ambiguities. Equally unfortunately, they differ—though this does not necessarily mean they invariably disagree—in a number of important particulars.

But to proceed with our five questions :

- (1) *Did Jesus and the Twelve actually meet in Jerusalem shortly before his crucifixion?*

To this a practically positive affirmative answer can confidently be given. All four Gospels agree in recording such a meeting.

Luke's account may be quoted as representative of the three synoptic Gospels :

And the day of unleavened bread came on which the pass-over must be sacrificed. And (Jesus) sent Peter and John, saying, Go and make ready the passover, that we may eat. And they said unto him, Where wilt thou that we make ready? And he said unto them, Behold, when ye are entered into the city, there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water; follow him into the house whereinto he goeth. And ye shall say unto the master of the house, The Teacher saith unto thee, Where is the guest chamber, where I shall eat the passover with my disciples? And he will show you a large upper room furnished; there make ready. And they went and found as he had said unto them: and they made ready the passover.

And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the disciples with him. And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer: for I say unto you, I shall not eat it, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves: for I say unto you, I shall not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come. And he took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood, even that which is poured out for you. (Luke 22:7-20) *

* Throughout this book, quotations from the Bible, unless otherwise noted, are from the American Standard Version.

With this, St. Paul's earlier account in his first epistle to the Corinthians also substantially concurs :

For I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed took bread ; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body, which is for you : this do in remembrance of me. In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood : this do, as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come. (I Corinthians 11:23-26)

John's story clearly tells of a meeting, and of a meal partaken of together, though his record of the other happenings is quite different :

Now before the feast of the passover, Jesus knowing that his hour was come that he should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own that were in the world, he loved them unto the end. And during supper, the devil having already put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray him, Jesus . . . riseth from supper, and layeth aside his garments ; and he took a towel, and girded himself, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded. . . .

So when he had washed their feet, and taken his garments, and sat down again, he said unto them, Know ye what I have done to you ? Ye call me, Teacher, and Lord : and ye say well ; for so I am. If I then, the Lord and the Teacher, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye also should do as I have done to you. . . .

When Jesus had thus said, he was troubled in the spirit, and testified, and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me. . . . So when he had dipped the sop, he taketh and giveth it to Judas, the Son of Simon Iscariot. . . . He then having received the sop went out straightway : and it was night. (John 13:1-5;12-15;21,26b,30)

(2) *Did Jesus and his disciples have a meal together on this occasion?*

It is obviously a matter of unanimous consent in the three synoptic Gospels that they had a meal together. The Fourth Gospel clearly indicates the same thing, though the author is much less explicit in his description of it. In addition to the Lukan narrative just quoted, both Matthew and Mark give their own versions. They are so nearly alike that both need not be quoted in full; therefore we reproduce the account given by Mark:

And on the first day of unleavened bread, when they had sacrificed the passover, his disciples say unto him, Where wilt thou that we go and make ready that thou mayest eat the pass-over? . . .

And when it was evening he cometh with the twelve. . . .

And as they were eating, he took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave it to them, and said, Take ye: this is my body. And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them: and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many. (Mark 14:12,17,22-24)

(3) *Was this the Passover meal, or something different, and did Jesus, during or after the meal, break and distribute bread, and share with the Twelve a cup?*

As to whether this was the Passover meal, or something else, the accounts are unclear. In Mark's account, which is generally agreed to be the earliest of the Gospels, the first impression given is that this was the Passover meal.

And the disciples went forth, and came into the city, and found as he had said unto them: *and they made ready the pass-over.* (Mark 14:16) *

* Italics mine—Author.

So do Matthew and Luke, duplicating almost exactly the words just quoted from Mark.

But elsewhere in all three synoptic narratives there appear statements which tend to indicate the time of the Supper as being twenty-four hours *before* the Passover. For example, as S. R. Huntington³ points out: (1) "It would have been against all the sacred rules and regulations of the Sanhedrin to hold court on the holy Passover day, which began in the evening on which the Supper was eaten. (2) It would have been a violation of strict Jewish tradition for the disciples to carry weapons on the Holy Day.

And behold, one of them that were with Jesus stretched out his hand, and drew his sword, and smote the servant of the high priest, and struck off his ear. (Matthew 26:51)

(3) The bazaar would not have been open for Joseph to make a purchase.

And (Joseph) bought a linen cloth, and taking him down, wound him in the linen cloth, and laid him in a tomb. . . . (Mark 15:46)

(4) According to Roman custom a prisoner was released (annually) in the morning of the day when Jesus was crucified, presumably that he might eat the Passover the following evening."

Another strong consideration in the same trend is that there is no mention of the eating of lamb or of the bitter herbs which were inseparable from the Passover meal proper. It is, for all these reasons, much more likely, as William D. Maxwell⁴ concludes, that the meal the disciples and their Master had together in the upper room was the Kiddush, "a simple repast shared weekly by small groups of male Jews, very often by a rabbi

and his disciples . . . to prepare for a Sabbath or a festival . . . and religious in character.”

Several factors in addition to those already mentioned tend to lead to this conclusion. The Passover was a meal celebrated in the family circle; the Kiddush among a group of male friends. At the Passover unleavened bread was used, while all the Gospel narratives imply the use of ordinary bread. At the Passover several cups were passed; at the Kiddush only one, to which agree both Matthew and Mark. There is no mention of the reading of the Exodus account of the escape of Israel from Egypt, as was always done at the Passover meal.⁵

The identification of the Last Supper with the Passover must have come about later, and probably for two principal reasons. The first was the desire of Jews who became Christians to find as many connecting links as possible between the faith of their fathers and the new belief in Jesus which now they had superimposed upon it. If they could satisfy themselves and prospective converts from Judaism that to embrace Christianity involved not too violent a break with the traditional past, it would be easier conscientiously to accept this fresh revelation of God which Jesus gave. And to believe that the Lord's Supper was in fact a revived and renewed Passover would be one way of maintaining such a connecting link.

The other reason for the identification became apparent still later, when the systematic theologians, including Paul, began to speak of Jesus as the Lamb of God, sacrificed for the sins of the world as the Jews sacrificed an animal (though it was a goat) for the sins

of the people on the Day of Atonement. It reinforced that doctrine to believe that one of the last acts of Jesus was one into which could be read a like concept of sacrifice. Hence the answer to this third query is that this Last Supper was almost certainly not the Passover meal, but the last Kiddush Jesus and his disciples would have together before he suffered.

The Fourth Gospel, as has already been suggested, implies also that a meal was eaten by the group, but there is no mention in that gospel of anything in the nature of the institution of a rite or sacrament. Explanations of this fact have been many and varied. John gives only the story of the foot-washing, and the so-called "Farewell Discourses." The question is interesting whether John 6:1-14 and 26-58—the story of the feeding of the five thousand and Jesus' subsequent discourse on the Bread of Life, is intended to represent the author's view of the Lord's Supper. But such an inquiry lies outside the scope of this study.

(4) *Did Jesus intend this act to be repeated in memory of him?*

This question is also variously answered by different scholars and commentators. Sometimes the answer is made *a priori*—simply out of a personal reluctance to believe it, as by Ralph Waldo Emerson, in saying that he "could not believe that Jesus meant to impose a memorial feast upon the whole world."

To be sure, as Arthur Wright⁶ says, "The words 'Do this in remembrance of me' are less surely historical than 'This is my body.' " They are not in Mark, the earliest of the Gospels, nor in Matthew. Luke has the

phrase, and it is also in First Corinthians, which is the earliest of all. It is quite likely that Luke got it from the epistle, with which he was probably familiar.

On the other hand, the "argument from silence" is always precarious, particularly in the face of the inescapable fact that very early in the worship of the primitive Church (probably before the end of the first century) Christians *were in fact doing it* in memory of Jesus. It is difficult to suppose that a custom so intimately connected with the Lord's life would have been permitted to arise unchallenged without the strongest possible authority behind it. It is almost certain that the Last Supper had become the Lord's Supper (to anticipate the title of the next chapter) within the lifetime of at least some of those who had personally known Jesus, and even some of those disciples who had been with him in the upper room. To agree with A. C. McGiffert ' that "it was not the instituting of a memorial feast he had in mind" leaves one with the burden of proof to account for the very early prevalence among Christians of exactly such a memorial feast. On balance, therefore, we may say that the evidence tends strongly toward producing a conviction that Jesus did desire the repetition and continuance of this act in memory of him.

- (5) *If not from the command of Jesus, whence could have come the custom of the early Church of doing so?*

Those who believe that the perpetuation of this memorial was not the mind or intention of Jesus suggest various ways by which its very general observance may have come about. Some judge that Paul, borrowing from the mystery religions, was responsible for its

widespread practice. That there is some relationship between the Christian Lord's Supper and the mystery religions' sacred meals is quite possible, and is a question which will be discussed at some length in Chapter IV. Among those who make this claim, in addition to a number of German historical scholars and theologians, are the French writer Renan, in his famous "Life of Jesus," and Percy Gardner, in the latter's earlier writings. Dr. Gardner held that Paul devised it to counterbalance the influence of the heathen mysteries by giving prospective and actual Christians who were or might be attracted to them an analagous *Christian* rite.

But it is difficult to allow this. Indeed, Macgregor⁸ maintains that it is quite impossible, inasmuch as much of the sacramentalism of the mysteries actually post-dated Christian sacramentalism. (In all fairness, however, it must be noted that he is practically alone among scholars in taking this view.) In any case, Paul—and Luke with him—undoubtedly *believed* that Jesus intended the Supper to be continued in his memory, and it is hard to see whence their belief could have been derived if not from those who, from their association with the Lord himself, were in a position to know his desires and intentions. Furthermore, Paul, the former persecutor of the Christians, and as such not for some time fully accredited as an apostle by the infant Church, would surely have met with the firmest opposition had he tried without warrant to introduce a practice alien to the commands believed in the Christian community to have been given by Jesus.

A more serious question is raised by Jesus' supposed utterances allegedly concerning the imminent end of the world. If he really believed that he would soon come

again from heaven to judge the world, it does seem unlikely that he would have instituted a memorial rite. But most probably he thought, concerning this possibility, that "the hour knoweth no man, not even the Son, but the Father"; and he may have judged it expedient that until that time should come, the fellowship of his followers might well have the cement of such a memorial rite to bind them together in devotion to him and to his teachings. Perhaps this is the answer to Emerson's objection: Jesus did not intend to "impose a memorial feast upon the whole world" for all time to come, but only to offer a memorial ceremony for the time until he should return, whether that time should prove to be long or short.

It is true, of course, that Jesus was no institutionalist, and this is sometimes alleged as a ground for doubting whether he would add another institution to be a burden upon his followers. Certainly, as Macgregor⁹ says, he believed the spirit was greater than the institution. But he was not by that same token an *anti*-institutionalist. Though he denounced the Scribes and Pharisees unmercifully for their formalism in worship and in the interpretation of the Law, he never advocated abolition of the services of the Temple and the synagogues. He said specifically, on at least one occasion, "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill." A rite of such "beautiful naturalness," as McGiffert calls it, must not, except upon overwhelming evidence, be ruled out as the sort of institutionalism which would fall under Jesus' condemnation.

After all, what the technical scholar and the devout believer alike are trying to do in this connection is to discover *what Jesus intended to do*. This the records do

not show, completely and definitely. Indeed, it is doubtful whether historical records of an event are ever capable of reflecting without distortion the inner motives of the participants in those events. When the evidence is all in, therefore, we are able to say confidently that the upper room did see the observance together, by Jesus and his disciples, of a last sacred Kiddush at which he took opportunity, as recorded in the Fourth Gospel, to say to them such memorable things as a leader keeps to improve great occasions. With somewhat less assurance, but still with the preponderant weight of the evidence, we shall probably be able to say that he did intend to institute a memorial meal which should be to them a sacred memory of their last hours together, and to those who came after them an only slightly less vivid and dramatic means of keeping both his memory and his teachings fresh in the consciousness of the Christian fellowship.

CHAPTER III

THE LAST SUPPER BECOMES THE LORD'S SUPPER

BY THE SLIGHTLY CRYPTIC title of this chapter we intend to convey the idea that the Last Supper, an event in the life of Jesus, gradually but fairly rapidly crystallized and solidified into the Lord's Supper, a religious ceremony or rite in the practice of the Christian Church.

This is, of course, a process familiar to students of institutions. Beginning with and feeding upon a single event or a simple formula, the process of accretion proceeds apace. Ideas more or less harmonious with the original text are, as it were, magnetized to it, and once added are difficult to dislodge. Because the mind of man seems to delight in making complexities out of simplicities, an institution will grow from a single central historical or ideological core in such a way as to remind one of the manner in which the concentric rings in a tree-trunk show the tree's age.

The process as regards the transformation of the Last Supper into the Lord's Supper is reflected in the New Testament in two books—I Corinthians¹ and Acts²—and even more in the voluminous literature of the second and third centuries.

There were, says W. E. Oesterley,³ three kinds of early Christian worship—the traditional Jewish form, taking place in the Temple, private meetings of small

groups in homes for prayer, and "the breaking of bread." Of these, it is the third that principally concerns us in this study. The principal passages just referred to all concern the breaking of bread. Acts 2:42 reads: "And they continued steadfastly in the apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread, and the prayers," which shows that not only the practice of group prayer, but the breaking of bread, had become habitual. (In passing, it may be noted also that the phrase "the prayers" rather than simply "prayer" seems to imply at least a rudimentary trend toward the development of a fixed liturgy.)

In Acts 2:46 we read: "And day by day . . . breaking bread at home. . . ." This apparently is written concerning a period somewhat later than when Acts 2:42 was written. Still later, some such ceremony had apparently become familiar, customary, and scheduled at regular weekly intervals, for the record shows that "Upon the first day of the week . . . (they) were gathered together to break bread" (Acts 20:7 and 11). Seemingly, too, even as early as this, the breaking of the bread was a more or less formal liturgical act over which a person of some ecclesiastical standing and authority (in this case Paul) presided.

In First Corinthians, an even earlier document than the Book of Acts, there are two relevant passages. One is 10:16: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion or (or, participation in) the blood of Christ? The bread (or, loaf) which we break, is it not a communion of (or, participation in) the body of Christ?" Evidently, even at this early date the ceremony itself was so familiar and generally accepted that the process of rationalization and "theologizing" had

already begun, and a teaching concerning its meaning had developed.

Another passage, part of which has already been quoted in another connection in Chapter II, is worth giving in full here :

When therefore ye assemble yourselves together, it is not possible to eat the Lord's supper: for in your eating each one taketh before other his own supper; and one is hungry, and another is drunken. What, have ye not houses to eat and to drink in? or despise ye the church of God, and put them to shame that have not? What shall I say to you? shall I praise you? In this I praise you not. For I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed took bread: and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body, which is for you: this do in remembrance of me. In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood; this do, as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come. . . . But let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of the bread, and drink of the cup. For he that eateth and drinketh, eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself if he discern not the body. For this cause many among you are weak and sickly, and not a few sleep. But if we discerned ourselves, we should not be judged. But when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we may not be condemned with the world. Wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, wait one for another. If any man is hungry, let him eat at home; that your coming together be not unto judgment. And the rest will I set in order whensoever I come. (I Corinthians 11:20-34)

The first epistle to the Corinthians was probably written by St. Paul about the year 55, only about thirty years after the closing events of Jesus' earthly life. Yet even as early as this, the rite of the Lord's Supper, to judge by this and the other passages we have quoted,

was so well known, and was accepted so much as a matter of course as to regularity and frequency that Paul feels it is necessary to recall to the minds of the Corinthian Christians the terms of its original institution by Jesus.

This completes the more important New Testament references to the observance of the Lord's Supper. But immediately we leave the New Testament, we plunge into a veritable flood of literature dealing with the remainder of the first century and the whole of the second. Oesterley⁴ lists about a dozen works bearing on this period. Of these, however, no more than four can be considered within the limits of our study. To deal with more would involve us in too great detail.

The first of these, though not the most important, is a letter written by Clement of Rome to the Corinthian Church about 96 A.D. Its principal interest lies in the fact that at one point it breaks into words of prayer which, though probably not at that time representing a fixed liturgical usage, can be traced in liturgies of two centuries later. Such phrases as the following occur, indicative of the extent to which accretions of theology concerning Jesus had grown up:

. . . the Creator of all things, through His well-beloved Son Jesus Christ, by whom He has called us from darkness to light.

At a later point the same letter uses the phrase "Through Jesus Christ the High Priest."

The second piece of literature is a letter of Pliny, who was governor of Bithynia in Pontus, to the Emperor Trajan, written in 112 A.D. This is more informative, but as Maxwell⁵ writes, "its liturgical value is limited by the fact that the writer is not a Christian, and

therefore is speaking only at second hand when he describes the worship of the Christians in Bithynia." The relevant portion of the letter is here quoted in full:

They (the Christians) were wont on a fixed day to assemble before daylight and sing antiphonally a hymn to Christ as to a God, and to bind themselves by an oath (*sacramentum*) to abstain from crime . . . and when this was over their custom was to depart and meet together again to take food.

Here are apparently two ceremonies celebrated at different times of day, one simply of praise and a pledge to live the good life; the other a common meal of fellowship.

The third (and most important) of the four documents is the one known as the "Didache," or "Teaching of the Twelve." It dates from about 130 A.D. It is generally believed to describe worship in Christian (or possibly only Jewish-Christian) circles. A number of important facts emerge when this document is studied.

(1) A day is fixed (Sunday) for the usual celebration of the Lord's Supper:

Every Lord's day, when you have assembled together, break bread, and give thanks, after having confessed your sins so that your sacrifice may be pure.

(2) "Closed Communion" was becoming, if it had not already become, the general rule:

Let no one eat or drink of your eucharist but those baptized in (or, into) the name of the Lord. . . .

(3) More or less fixed liturgical prayers—perhaps we might even call them prayers of consecration of the elements of bread and wine—have developed, appar-

ently to be used with little or no variation, at all celebrations of the Eucharist:

As touching the eucharist, we give thanks in this manner. First over the cup: "We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David Thy servant which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy servant. *To Thee be the glory forever.*" * Over the broken bread: "We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy servant. *To Thee be glory forever.*" * As this broken bread was scattered over the mountains, and has been gathered together and made one, so may Thy Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom, *for Thine is the glory and power through Jesus Christ forever.*" *

Not only is a prayer of consecration provided to be said over the cup and over the bread, but there is also set forth a very beautiful prayer of thanks to be said "when you have been filled":

We give thanks to Thee, Holy Father, for Thy Holy Name, which Thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge, faith and immortality which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy servant. *To Thee be glory forever.* * Thou, O Lord, Ruler of the universe, hast made all things for the sake of Thy Name, hast given meat and drink to all for their enjoyment, that they might give thanks to Thee, but to us Thou hast given spiritual meat and drink, and eternal life through Jesus Thy servant. Before all things we give Thee thanks, for Thou art mighty. *To Thee be glory forever.* * Remember, O Lord, Thy Church to deliver it from evil and to perfect it in Thy love; and gather what Thou hast sanctified from the four winds of heaven into Thy Kingdom which Thou hast prepared for it. *For Thine is the power and the glory forever.* *

* These repeated phrases give the impression of being responses, to be said or sung by the congregation. Italics mine—Author.

The fourth document in this group is of almost equal importance with the Didache. It is Justin Martyr's "First Apology," written about 140, and addressed to the Emperor Antonius Pius in Rome. This is only about seventy years after the death of Paul, and evidently the manner of worship described is not widely different from Apostolic and post-Apostolic practice. It is too long to quote here, but its salient features are:

(1) There is a designated minister, called the President (in the Greek, *presbuteros*), who "takes" the bread and a cup of wine mixed with water, and offers praise and thanksgiving.

(2) "Deacons" give the bread and wine to all present, and carry it also to those who are absent.

(3) This food is called "eucharist" (*eucharistia*), and is not to be received except by those who believe the Christian teachings and have been baptized.

(4) This food is not received "as common food and drink," but as "the body and blood" of Christ, and this is said to be in accord with the Gospels, "in which the express commands of our Lord are handed down."

(5) Sunday, the first day of the week, is the regular day of worship, chosen because it commemorates the Lord's resurrection. The norm of that worship includes reading from either the Prophets or the "memoirs of the Apostles," prayers (offered standing), the distribution of bread and wine described above, and the collection of gifts from the wealthier members of the congregation for use by the President for the assistance of widows, orphans, prisoners, and strangers on their travels.

Before closing this description of how the Last Supper became the Lord's Supper, something must be said

concerning the common meal shared by Christian groups and communities. This was called the Love Feast, in Greek, *Agape*. Tertullian's "Apology," written about 197, describes a later edition of the Agape thus: "Our feast explains itself by its name. The Greeks call it love. Whatever it costs, our outlay in the name of piety is gain, since with the good things of the feast we benefit the needy. . . . The participants, before reclining, taste first of prayer to God. As much is eaten as satisfies the cravings of hunger; as much is drunk as befits the chaste. . . . After the washing of hands and the bringing of lights, each is asked to stand forth and sing as he can a hymn to God, either one from the Holy Scriptures or one of his own composing . . . as the feast commenced with prayer, so with prayer it closes." In the very earliest Christian times, it was a meal partaken of in connection with the Eucharist, which it preceded, thus following the procedure of Jesus at the Last Supper.

It is very difficult to disentangle those elements which properly belong to the Eucharist from those pertaining to the Agape alone. Some, like Macgregor,⁶ believe there is little or no evidence of the identification of the Lord's Supper with the Agape. On the other hand, Yngve Brilioth⁷ is of the opinion that "the religious meal of the earliest Christians can have had a double character; first, as the continuation of the common meal of the Apostolic circle (possibly the Kiddush or one of the other religious meals common in Judaism) * with the emphasis on their fellowship with one another and with the Ascended Lord, and second, as the repetition of the Last Supper. . . ."

* Parentheses mine—Author.

From the beginning, believes J. F. Keating,⁸ there was some distinction made between the two, though the Didache shows them still in union. Pliny's letter to Trajan, quoted above, shows that in at least some places the separation had already taken place.

Rather rudely summarizing much more data than can be reproduced here, and with some degree of pure conjecture, the most reasonable conclusion seems to be about as follows: Probably beginning immediately after Jesus' resurrection, his followers were accustomed to meet together to share experiences, plans, and hopes.⁹ Most usually such meetings would be for an evening meal, for this would give the most leisure for the exchange of comment, for the instruction of inquirers in the new faith, and for fraternal fellowship together. At the very beginning, there may or may not have been any observance of the Lord's Supper as an act of worship, or even as a specific memorial act, though its observance at least in the latter sense would seem very likely, if for no other reason than that it would give objective and direction to the act of assembling.

Under circumstances like these, nothing would be more natural than the gradual development of a spirit of worship, and the translation of that spirit of worship into an *act* of worship based upon the events and conversations of that sacred hour which their leaders, the Apostles, had shared with Jesus in the upper room. From this point, certain further developments were almost inevitable and can be followed rather clearly. They followed the pattern of accretion, interpretation, and rationalization mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. And as early as the first half of the second century—perhaps even in Paul's lifetime—as has been

mentioned, there is discernible a fairly well crystalized liturgy and a reasonably exact theology about the Lord's Supper and about Jesus.

The Love Feast and the Lord's Supper existed side by side for some time, for rather obvious and purely practical reasons. Even the division between them, gradually arising, at first did no more than to separate the Christian gathering into two more or less distinct parts—the first part being the fellowship supper and the second the more formal act of worship in obedience to Jesus' command. Nor was this process of division uniform either in time or in place. It sometimes depended, for example, on the action of the secular authority, from which, in some localities, permission had to be obtained to assemble at all, and such permission could and frequently did define very precisely the purposes for which such gatherings might be convened. In other places, the divisive factor was the use made of the Agape itself by those who attended it. Referring to I Corinthians 11:20, Adamson¹⁰ imaginatively describes the abuses that had unhappily sprung up in Corinth, where “greed on the part of the poor, inconsiderateness on the part of the rich, not to mention the gluttony and drunkenness of individuals, had done so much to mar the fine order of the feast.”¹¹

By reason of its virtues the Agape spread widely and rapidly in both East and West, though by the time of Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria, near the end of the second century, it was generally separated from the sacramental act of worship, the Lord's Supper. But by reason both of the opposition of secular authority in some places and of its own abuses in others, such as those noted above, it deteriorated rapidly until

it was forbidden in the West by the Council of Carthage in 397, though it lasted longer in the East.

So the Last Supper has become the Lord's Supper, bound together at first intimately and later more loosely with the general fellowship gathering of Christians at a common meal, the Agape. Because of its inherently sacred nature, as an act of obedience to the express command of Jesus, the Supper gradually dissociated itself from the Agape, and was erected into a separate service of worship. It may not be out of place to mention here, at least parenthetically, that the distinction here begun later crystallized into what Maxwell¹² calls "The Liturgy of the Word" and "The Liturgy of the Upper Room" or, in still later phrase, the "Missa Catechumenorum" (Mass of the Catechumens, that is, those under instruction) and the "Missa Fidelium" (Mass of the Faithful, those already Christians). Gradually there grew up about this act of worship set prayers, liturgies, rules of precedence and procedure, and a slowly increasing concept of sacerdotalism.

CHAPTER IV

THE LORD'S SUPPER AND ITS RIVALS, THE MYSTERIES

IN A SENSE, this chapter is a digression from the main current of thought concerning the origin and development of the Lord's Supper. Yet it must be included, if for no other reason than that a good many anti-Christian writers, and some Christian scholars, find the Mystery Religions to have many "deadly parallels" with the Christian rite. There are those who believe that if not in its origin, at least in its development, the Lord's Supper was profoundly affected by the Mysteries. Such was the earlier belief of Dr. Percy Gardner, though in later studies he somewhat modified his position in the direction of a more orthodox view. But even so thoroughly Christian a scholar as Dean Inge has written,¹ "Catholicism (meaning not only Roman Catholicism but the Catholic point of view in general) * owes to the Mysteries the notions of secrecy, of symbolism, of mystical brotherhood, of sacramental grace, and above all, of the three stages of the spiritual life—ascetic purification, illumination, and insight (in Greek, *epopteia*) as the crown."

The present writer does not possess either the facilities or the linguistic qualifications requisite to do original research in this field. He must therefore depend

* Parentheses mine—Author.

largely upon studies already made—two books in particular,² with some help from a third.³

Such detailed description of specific rites and ceremonies from the Mysteries as we can allow space, will be taken largely from Dr. Harold Willoughby's "Pagan Regeneration." Other quotations and conclusions will be drawn not only from this book, but also from two books of Dr. Samuel Angus, "The Mystery Religions and Christianity" and "The Environment of Early Christianity," without in every case burdening these pages with too numerous reference notes.

The Greek mystery religions existed in the Mediterranean world for over a thousand years, probably introduced from the East by the cult brotherhoods about the 7th century B.C. Thus they existed contemporaneously with Christianity for only about a third of that period, and were more or less on the decline when Christianity first confronted them. They by no means had the religious field to themselves even before the Christian era dawned, for they had to contend with the still functioning, traditional, polytheistic religions of Greece and Rome, including the Roman family religion which later developed into emperor-worship.

At first they were private, and conducted by religious guilds. But their growth was rapid, for several reasons. They were not attached to tribal or city-state units, and hence membership in them was open and voluntary. They were not exclusive; one might belong to several Mystery cults, if he desired, at the same time. Nor were they so rigid and intolerant of other cults of like nature as to prevent joint action or even combination; in point of fact there was a gradual coalescence among them, so that those surviving in any considerable strength by

about the first century were only six. These were the Mysteries of Eleusis, Dionysus, Orpheus, the Great Mother, Mithra, and Isis and Osiris.

Willoughby and Angus substantially agree in describing the general characteristics of a Mystery religion as follows:

(1) They were purely individualistic; the salvation of the individual soul was their chief concern—a salvation which was spiritual and other-worldly.

(2) They were dramatic; they had hero-gods of the dying and rising type, suffering but finally triumphing, and in that triumph of the god the worshiper also triumphed.

(3) They were symbolic and sacramental, having initiatory rites leading to communion, revelation, and deification.

(4) They were eschatological, that is, dealing with the future life; the cults of Mithra, Isis, Eleusis, and the Great Mother, and perhaps some of the others, taught immortality.

(5) Angus adds, though Willoughby does not, that their general trend was toward monotheism.

It would be a mistake to assume that these cults were so degraded and crude that they were incapable of offering serious opposition to Christianity. This was not the fact. On the contrary, as Angus points out,⁴ the Mystery religions had actually helped to create a favorable background for the introduction and spread of Christianity in several respects. They had made religion a matter of personal conviction; they had made familiar the consciousness of sin and the need for personal redemption; they had tended to aim toward world brotherhood by denationalizing gods and men; they

had stimulated the craving for immortality; they had diffused their faiths by propaganda; and (if Angus is right) they had tended to foster monotheism.

They had distinguished support. Concerning the Mysteries in general the Greek orator Isocrates said, in his *Panegyricus* 28, "Those who share their initiation have sweet hopes for the end of life and for all future time," and the great Roman, Cicero, wrote, "In the Mysteries we learn not only to live happily but to die with fairer hope."

Probably it is true to say, as does Cumont,⁵ that in pre-Christian times "these religions gave greater satisfaction first of all to the senses and emotions, in the second place to the intelligence, and finally, to the conscience (of the average man). . . . They offered, in comparison with previous religions, more beauty in their ritual, more truth in their doctrines, and a superior good in their morality."

All these six Mystery cults mentioned by name above showed greater or less parallelism with Christianity, either in doctrine or in practice—in some instances in both. We proceed to examine them briefly.

The Eleusinian Mystery

The Eleusinian Mystery was localized at Eleusis, in Greece, but could be and was practised elsewhere. It was even adopted at Athens as part of the state religion. Unlike most others, which took their names from their central characters, this one was named from its locality. It was based upon the myth of Demeter and Persephone, essentially a nature myth. The stealing of Persephone by Pluto, and her abduction to the lower regions, symbolized the winter; her restoration to her

mother Demeter, goddess of fertility, the return of spring and summer. Full initiation into the cult extended over a period of a year and a half, and included four stages. Like most of the other Mysteries, the majority of the initiation ceremonies were secret, and hence records are very fragmentary and incomplete. But there seems to have been nothing impure or licentious in them. They included the drinking of barley water and the partaking of food from a sacred chest, a "mystical communion with the goddess." There was also a ceremony of baptism, for which regenerative power was claimed.

The Dionysian Mystery

The Dionysian Mystery had a like mythical basis. The central character, Dionysus, was the son of Zeus and Semele, a mortal. Hence a demi-god, he was representative of vegetation in general and of wine in particular. He was in the wine; indeed, devotees of the cult believed he *was* the wine, in a manner somewhat analogous to the later identification of Christ with the consecrated wine in the Roman Catholic Mass. Communion with Dionysus was obtained by eating the raw flesh of a goat or a bull, with which animals the demi-god was also identified, and by drinking wine. The rites of this Mystery were more likely to be ecstatic, even orgiastic. The philosopher Plato justified intoxication in this one instance.

The Orphic Mystery

Orpheus—musician, theologian, reformer in religion—was the mythical figure central to the Orphic Mysteries. This cult was to some degree a reformed

Dionysianism; Dionysus was also a cult-divinity for the adherents of the Orphic Mystery. But the worship was more ascetic, more ritualistic, and more speculatively theological. One of its principal tenets was that of the transmigration of souls—a hint, probably, of origin in the farther East—from the rebirth cycle of which deliverance could be had through participation in the Orphic rites. Like the Dionysian Mystery, the raw flesh of a bull was eaten as an act of communion with the god, and as a memorial of the destruction of Dionysus by the Titans, though the initiation and worship were hardly at all orgiastic. After initiation, the Orphic devotee lived a life of ceremonial cleanness and holiness, eating no animal food, and maintaining a high level of moral conduct. Plutarch was a member of this cult.

The Great Mother

The earliest Oriental cult to come out of Asia into Greece was that of the Great Mother—*Magna Mater Deum*—the source of all life, and a personification of all the powers of nature. (Perhaps our common phrase “Mother Nature” may trace back to this.) Like the Eleusinian Mystery this was essentially a nature-myth, in which the Great Mother, associated with a male hero-divinity named Attis, was understood as representing the year's cycle of birth and death. Unlike the other Mysteries, however, its rites were not secret, but were publicly celebrated in March of each year. They were orgiastic in the extreme, including “rebirth” by means of a Taurobolium, in which the worshiper was literally and actually bathed in the blood of a bull; sometimes,

at least, self-mutilation was practised. Willoughby thinks that this cult was of all the Mysteries best known to Paul.⁶ It was introduced into Rome about 200 B.C.

The Cult of Isis and Osiris

This was Egyptian in origin, but became Hellenized when it was introduced into Greece. It was founded upon the myth of Osiris who, killed by Set, the god of evil, was revived by Isis and reigned thereafter as "Lord of the Underworld and Ruler of the Dead." He was the personification of the righteous man and also, like Dionysus or Attis, represented a dying and reviving God.

The cult was introduced into Rome early in the second century B.C., where later it was mercilessly persecuted as an alien faith, but survived because of its hold on the popular mind. It possessed impressive rites and rituals, some of which, like those of the Great Mother, were celebrated in public shrines twice daily. It also marked with a festival in November the death and resurrection of Osiris, and its secret rites included a baptism for regeneration and a ritual portrayal of death and resurrection.

Mithraism

Certainly the closest parallelism to Christian rites was found in Mithraism. This myth, in which Mithra was the central figure, came to Rome from Persia, where Mithra was known as the god of light, upholder of truth, enemy of error, and, as giver of light and heat, the source of physical blessings such as good health and numerous progeny. Nominally subordinate to the

supreme deity Ahura Mazda, Mithra was much the more vivid figure, and as god of armies often in the popular mind overshadowed his "superior officer."

After the fall of the Persian empire, Mithraism threw off its public and official Persian character, and in the guise of a private cult brotherhood or mystery spread through Asia Minor and on to Rome, where it took so powerful a hold that the Roman emperor was initiated into it about 50 A.D. It was strongly missionary.

Its ritual, according to Jerome, consisted of seven degrees based upon astrology and intended to represent stoic self-control and immunity to hardship. Part of the initiation ritual was a simulated murder—symbolic of a death to be followed by resurrection and regeneration into immortality. There was also Mithraic baptism, which promised purification from guilt and the washing away of sin.

New divine life was nourished by a sacrament of eating bread and drinking wine. In this respect it resembled rather closely the Christian rite, for "Mithra at the close of his redemptive career and just before his ascension, partook of a last supper with Helius and the other companions of his labors. (This) gave vigor of body, wisdom of mind, power to combat evil spirits and a divine 'substance' that assured the boon of immortality." "

The ethical element in Mithraism was of high quality. It fostered self-control even to the point of asceticism, and militant virtue, believing that moral victories were possible through Mithra.

Some Mithraic circles held that a vivid catastrophic end of the world would come. Mithra would return to earth, the dead would have a bodily resurrection, the

wicked would be destroyed, with Mithra presiding at the last judgment, and there would come then the final rejuvenation of the universe.

So much, then, for a brief general description of the characteristics of the six principal Mystery Religions which existed in the Mediterranean world at the time Christianity made its entrance.

The merits of these Mystery Religions have already been mentioned. Angus^s also points out that they were subject to certain defects from the standpoint of religious philosophy, the chief of which were that (1) they pointed backward toward a crude and primitive naturalism; (2) they were inextricably entangled with a pseudo-religion (magic) and a pseudo-science (astrology); (3) they lacked any social concept, being on the whole extremely individualistic; and (4) they were weak and vague in theological formulation.

With this more or less rapid survey of the Mystery Religions now set down, we are in a position to evaluate them more accurately and to assess the validity of the contention that Christian theology in general and the Lord's Supper in particular are heavily in their debt.

At the outset, it should be said that too much importance can easily be attached to purely superficial resemblances. The fact is that, except in relation to Mithraism, the parallelisms sometimes drawn are clearly of this superficial character. Christianity had no orgiastic rites even remotely resembling those of the Dionysian or the Great Mother cults. (The "speaking with tongues," which probably comes nearest to them, is mentioned by Paul only to be rebuked, and in any event was a phenomenon short-lived in Christian prac-

tice.) Christianity had no lasting doctrine of transmigration, as did the Orphic cult, although Chrysostom seems to have believed in it, as well as a few others in the first three centuries. It had no such elaborate initiation as characterized the Eleusinian Mystery. There is nothing in Christianity corresponding to the permanent reign of Osiris over the realm of the dead. All these parallelisms, insofar as they do exist, relate to matters only incidental to Christian doctrine and practice, but basic to the doctrines and practices of the Mysteries. In other words, the Mysteries could not get along without them, but Christianity could and did.

With Mithraism the parallels are somewhat closer, and go somewhat deeper. It seems more probable that Paul should have been in close contact with this Mystery than with that of the Great Mother, or even of the Eleusinian. If Paul was responsible in considerable degree for the modifications in the doctrine and practice of the Lord's Supper—as is no doubt true; and if, further, these modifications appear to show signs of Mithraic influence, as they do,⁹ the inference is clear that it was this cult which influenced him more than either of the others. Certainly he would have had little sympathy with the cult of the Great Mother, which was in many respects crude and revolting.

It is Macgregor who observes that Paul never applies the Greek word "*mysterion*" either to Baptism or to the Lord's Supper. This is significant, and tends to support his judgment that, even though Paul may have borrowed some Mithraic ritual or theology and translated them into Christian terms, it was Mithraism which was grafted on to Christianity rather than that Christianity which was poured into the mold of Mithraism or ac-

commodated to it. In other words, if Paul was affected by Mithraism at all, which at least in relation to the Lord's Supper seems possible, he was still far more of a Mithraic Christian than he was a Christian Mithraist.

Nor is it less important to remember, as Brilioth well says,¹⁰ that "no Christian custom can validly be condemned on the ground of pagan origin; the point is whether the idea it now expresses is Christian." If this were not so, we should certainly have to dispense with our gaily decorated evergreen trees at Christmas time. And Brilioth says also,¹¹ "The attempt to derive Baptism and the Eucharist directly from heathen rites is now seen to be one of the freaks of historical scholarship and a symptom of a childish ailment which is not uncommon in young sciences. Today this theory appears only in the popular expositions. . . . Serious discussion is now confined to the date and extent of the influence of the mystery religions in the Christian sacrament." And this influence, he believes, was more marked in later years, after Constantine, than earlier, in the time with which we are now dealing.¹²

One final question remains to be answered before we leave consideration of the Mystery religions and proceed in the next chapter to a description of the later Patristic and mediæval development of the Lord's Supper. It is the question of how it comes about that the Christian religion in general, and its doctrine and practice of the Lord's Supper in particular, survived this period of competition with the once mighty Mystery religions, while they perished.

Brilioth accounts for it on the ground of Christian intolerance as over against the Mysteries' easy-going

tolerance for one another. He says,¹³ "The normal relation of the mystery-cults to one another was one of tolerance. . . . It was prudent to acquire as many guarantees of salvation as possible. Philosophy saw in the various rites only different ways of approach to the same Deity. But it was on the ground of intolerance, from first to last, that Christianity fought and won. It was unthinkable to partake of the Lord's table and the table of devils."

Gibbon,¹⁴ in his famous "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," enumerates the following reasons: (1) The enthusiasm of the early Christians; (2) their belief in immortality, with its future rewards and punishments; (3) miracles; (4) the high ethical code of its first professors; and (5) the efficient organization of the Church on the imperial pattern.

Renan¹⁵ says, "It was by the discipline of life that it introduced into the world that Christianity conquered."

It is John S. Blackie's conviction¹⁶ that Christianity emerged triumphant over its rivals because "Christianity addressed itself to the world with the triple advantage of a reasonable dogma, a tremendous moral force, and *an admitted historical basis*."*

Lecky¹⁷ argues that Christianity "combined more distinct elements of power and attraction than any other religion,—in its universalism, its sympathetic worship, its noble system of ethics, and an ideal of compassion."

And to this A. C. McGiffert¹⁸ agrees, though in different words, by saying, "Ancient Christianity won its

* Italics mine—Author.

victory chiefly because it had far more of the elements of power and permanence, combined a greater variety of attractive features, and satisfied a greater variety of needs than any other system . . . its victory in the Roman Empire was fairly earned by sheer superiority.”

The crux of the matter seems to lie in the *firm historical basis* upon which Christianity rested, and which the Mystery religions lacked. Their hero-gods were, after all, mythical. It will not do to say that the people *believed* they were real. Almost certainly they could not stand as historical personages, as compared with the ability of Christianity to point to a founder known at first to living men and later a person demonstrably historical by extant contemporary records. Christianity survived the Mysteries, and the Lord's Supper survived their analogous religious meals, in the last analysis, *because Jesus had lived*.

CHAPTER V

THE LORD'S SUPPER BECOMES A SACRIFICE

AS THE HUMAN BODY still carries within itself vestigial structure, no longer useful but reminiscent of organs once essential, so religion often carries over from age to age doctrines and practices which may be long outmoded. An example is the primitive principle of sacrifice in religion. F. D. Burkitt¹ thinks that sacrifice was probably the primitive form of religion, and often included the distribution of the offering among the worshipping congregation, the gods also being presumed to be partakers of the meal. Sacrifices were the fruits of the ground, or animals, or even, in the more primitive stages of religion, human beings.

We have tried, in Chapter II, to discover what it was that Jesus intended to do in instituting the Lord's Supper, and answered the question by saying that primarily his object was to give to the disciples a vivid and impressive memorial of him which they, and those who came after them in the Christian way of life, should use to remind themselves of him, of his teachings, and of the commands he had laid upon them. There is discernible in the bare accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper hardly more than that; some would say there is not even that much.

But there were at least two factors which worked against the continuance of so simple an interpretation. One was the influence of the Mystery religions, particularly Mithraism, considered in the last chapter. The other was the persistent idea of sacrifice in connection with religion. Whether or not Jesus had any concept of sacrifice in his mind when he instituted the Lord's Supper does not matter, in the view of those who would read a sacrificial significance into it. The "doctrine of development" can be applied to put it there. Burkitt² suggests that one reason for the growth of the doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice was that it was believed to be a means of cleansing from sins committed after baptism.

Canon Oliver C. Quick³ thus explains the doctrine of development: "We need not maintain that everything we read into the Eucharist was actually in Jesus' mind. The doctrine of development can be applied and his authority claimed for those developments, provided they are self-consistent with his words and acts at the time."

We have to deal in this chapter with the effects of the doctrine of development, whether called by that name or not, upon the Lord's Supper, in the centuries up to and including the early part of the 13th. This survey, necessarily brief, will show how, with the immense authority of the imperialistic Church to support it, this doctrine carried the Lord's Supper far, far away from the simple memorial feast in the upper room, and brought it, by the time of the Reformation, to a pitch of elaborate sacrificial ceremonialism.

The principal source materials of the second, third, and fourth centuries in which this process can be studied in detail are cited by Oesterley⁴ as follows:

- (1) The seven epistles of Ignatius (110–117)
- (2) The second epistle of Clement (150)
- (3) The epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians (150)
- (4) Justin Martyr's First Apology, and his Dialogue with Trypho (about 150)
- (5) Irenaeus *Adversus Haereses* (180)
- (6) The epistle of Clement of Alexandria (200)
- (7) The Acts of John the Gnostic (250)
- (8) The Egyptian Church Order, and two other documents based upon it,—the Canons of Hippolytus and the Apostolic Constitutions (early Third century)
- (9) The Acts of Thomas (Third century)
- (10) The works of Origen, Tertullian, and Cyprian
- (11) The writings of Cyril of Jerusalem (Fourth century)
- (12) The Liturgy of Sarapion (Fourth century)

For the detailed study of specific liturgies, which we have not time or space to undertake, Brilioth ⁵ cites the Gallican and Roman sacramentaries (service books), including the Mozarabic, Leonine, and Antiochene. Maxwell ⁶ is also full and informative.

In general, the development of the Lord's Supper proceeded along two lines. The first was toward increasing sacerdotalism—the placing of more power and authority in the hands of an authorized priesthood. The second was in the direction of greater fixity and rigidity in the forms of worship—the formation of what we call liturgies. Perhaps a third development ought also to be mentioned—the increasing tendency to erect the Lord's Supper as a point of division, if not an actual barrier, between the catechumen, or inquirer into the faith (sometimes a young person not as yet confirmed and sometimes a potential adult convert from another faith), and the full communicant member of the Church.

INCREASING SACERDOTALISM

It has generally been true in religious practice that if a sacrifice is to be offered, there must be a priest to offer it. We know relatively little about the organization of the primitive Church, but even in the New Testament, before the idea of sacrifice had begun to creep into the interpretation of the Lord's Supper, there is discernible the tendency to commit the celebration of it to particularly qualified persons. Undoubtedly these were, at first, the Apostles, by virtue simply of their close personal association with Jesus, and the moral authority that implied. As they scattered, and as the number of churches increased beyond the point where an Apostle could be present at each one, those whom they appointed (or ordained) would act in their stead. We have already seen one instance in which Paul presided (Acts 20:11), though this may only have been a courtesy extended to him because of his eminence as a distinguished missionary rather than as a matter of right arising out of whatever ecclesiastical standing he possessed.

But certainly by the time of Ignatius of Antioch, about A.D. 115, some churches, though probably not all, recognized no Eucharist as valid unless it was celebrated by a Bishop or someone appointed by a Bishop. Ignatius wrote to the church at Smyrna, "Let that eucharist be considered valid which is under a bishop, or him to whom he commits it. . . . It is not lawful apart from a bishop either to baptize or hold a love-feast." (8:1,2)

To be sure, this development did not proceed at uniform pace in all parts of the Christian world. There

were without doubt places where a devout layman might yet administer the elements of the Lord's Supper at the close of an Agape. But the march was on, and it is safe to say that by the middle of the second century, it was the practically invariable rule that an "*episcopos*" or a "*presbuteros*" must be the celebrant, or officiating officer, at the Lord's Supper. These two terms—overseer or presbyter—were still being used almost interchangeably, for the three-fold form of the Church's ministry had not yet crystallized.

Not yet was there full acceptance of the idea that the Lord's Supper was, primarily, not a memorial but a sacrifice. But it was coming. Harnack writes that Cyprian, in the third century, was the first to coordinate a specific sacrifice, namely, the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, with a specific priesthood. And following Cyprian the idea grew rapidly in the hands of Eusebius, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Radbertus, and the Schoolmen in the Western Church, centering about Rome. In the Eastern Church, based upon Byzantium (Constantinople), the idea was developed, after Eusebius, by Gregory of Nyssa, supported by Cyril of Jerusalem, and strongly reinforced by Gregory of Nazianzum.

The idea of sacrifice in the Lord's Supper was probably derived in part from the Mysteries. But in all these cults except Mithraism, as we have seen, the sacrificial elements were relatively crude. In consonance with its higher spiritual and ethical level, Christianity needed in connection with its religious meal a loftier concept of sacrifice than was to be found in the Mysteries, though what they actually devised was rather strongly colored by the same Mysteries.

In a proper sacrifice, as Burkitt⁷ observed, two things are required—a proper victim, and the offering of that victim to God. The first requirement was met when the priest made the bread and wine, by consecration, into the body and blood of Christ—a process which was explained by the doctrine of transubstantiation, shortly to be discussed. For the second, the worshipers, mystically united with Christ, offered *themselves* to Christ as a self-oblation. No other *victim* was needed because Christ was once offered as the “full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world”; no other *offering*, or act of offering, was required because the worshiper offered himself, in spiritual union with Christ.

Though it anticipates somewhat a later point of discussion, it is interesting to mention, at this point, the Prayer of Consecration in the contemporary Anglican (and American Episcopal) Prayer Book, which includes the phrase just quoted, referring to Christ, and also uses in the subsidiary Prayer of Invocation the words, “Here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto Thee.”

Sacerdotalism, the power and authority of a priesthood, tends to grow by what it feeds on. Given a certain amount of power and authority, it reaches constantly after more, to solidify and buttress its differentiation from the non-priestly class. Parallel with the growth of the idea that the power to administer the Lord's Supper must be restricted to a priestly class was the growth of the theory that that which was being administered was also in a peculiar sense holy. Here is the origin of

the whole set of doctrines explanatory of the Real Presence of Jesus, in some sense or other, in the Lord's Supper.

As early as Justin Martyr, as we have seen, the attempt is made to localize the Presence of Jesus in the bread and wine. Justin says, "We were taught (does not the use of the past tense throw it back still earlier?) * that the food for which thanks are given (is) both flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh." And Ignatius speaks of the "flesh of Christ" as "the medicine of immortality, the antidote of death." From this point through the next half century or so this doctrine continues to develop. It may be technically true, as John W. Nevin⁸ holds, that there is no doctrine of transubstantiation in the Fathers of the first three centuries, but it is certainly possible to point out language such as that of Justin Martyr, just quoted, and others, which leans very strongly in that direction. L. W. Dale⁹ is more accurate in saying that both advocates and opponents of the doctrine of transubstantiation can quote plenty of passages from writers of the first five (or even three)** centuries in support of their respective contentions. What can be said with certainty is that the matter was in a state of flux, with the tendency, as the years went on, decidedly in the direction of attaching more and more of sacred character to the elements of bread and wine themselves.

It would be tedious and needlessly prolix to follow in much more detail the growth of this doctrine of transubstantiation. Certainly by the year 750 it is definitely a part of the doctrine of the Church, for at that time we

* Parentheses mine—Author.

** Parentheses mine—Author.

find John of Damascus “definitely refusing to allow the elements after consecration to be called types or symbols of the body and blood, since consecration effects a fundamental change in them.”¹⁰ Obviously, the reason they may no longer be called types or symbols is that now (after consecration) they are, as Beza and Farel said later, “the same substance which (Christ) took in the womb of the Virgin and which he carried up to heaven.”¹¹

The conclusion of the question in the form of a definite settlement came in the Eastern Church in 787, and in the West at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, when transubstantiation was made forever “*de fide*” (“of the faith”) in the Roman Catholic Church.

Another question of interest arises here, and may be dealt with briefly. If it be true that the bread and wine which are laid upon the altar become, by consecration at the hands of the priest, the actual body and blood of Christ, the question must have been raised as to *when* and *how* they are so changed.

This question was answered by assuming an “epiclesis.” The Catholic Encyclopedia defines this as “the prayer in which the celebrant prays that God may send down His Holy Spirit to change this bread and wine into the Body and Blood of His Son.” Fairly well defined indications of a definite epiclesis are found in liturgies as early as the 4th century,¹² though in general it may be said, with Oesterley,¹³ that “the earlier the time, the less definite and more variable the epiclesis—sometimes not mentioned, sometimes applying only to the worshipers.” In the 7th-century Liturgy of St. James the prayer is: “O God, according to Thy great mercy . . . send down upon . . . these holy gifts lying

before Thee Thine all-holy Spirit, that . . . he may sanctify and make this bread the holy Body of Christ and this cup the precious Blood of Christ."

In all these three respects, therefore, the process of sacerdotalism has completely taken over the simple memorial rite of the upper room. Now it can only be celebrated by a priestly order; now the Presence of the Lord is localized at a particular moment in time and a particular point in space; now the sacrifice is no longer the offering of bread and wine, but the offering of Christ's veritable body and blood. The victory of sacerdotalism is complete.

DEVELOPMENT OF FIXED LITURGIES

At the beginning of Christian history there was no uniformity in the practice of worship, at least as regards any fixed or particular form of words or actions. A general resemblance there was, of course, for all Christians were doing essentially the same thing. In the observance of the Lord's Supper they were keeping—at first most of them probably believed only for a short time, until he should come again—a sacred memorial of their Master. But from city to city and from province to province there was wide variation in the precise manner of this commemoration.

Though the human mind is capable of infinite variations and inventions of thought, in the field of religion these variations seem to run sooner or later in fairly well-defined grooves. So it was here. Increasing uniformity came to be observed within cities, then within districts, then within still larger areas. From about the 4th century onward, these liturgies fall into two well-marked groups or families.

This broad, general division is between the liturgies of the East and those of the West. Among the former, one of the most prominent is the Clementine liturgy, belonging approximately to the year 380. This represents the worship of the Syrian Church, centering in Antioch, in Syria, and is the parent-rite of all the Eastern liturgies. The others may be classified, according to Maxwell,¹⁴ about as follows:

The Byzantine rite (Constantinople)

1. Liturgy of S. Basil
2. Liturgy of S. Chrysostom

The Jerusalem rite

1. Liturgy of S. James (5th century)
2. All other Syrian rites
3. Persian rites (Nestorian)

In Egypt, centering in Alexandria, two principal liturgies developed,—those of Sarapion and of S. Mark, as well as a number of more crude Ethiopic rites.

In the West there was also a bipartite division—between the Roman rite on the one hand, and on the other all other Western, but non-Roman rites which are grouped under the title of Gallican. It is from these Western liturgies, of course, rather than from the Eastern, that most of our Lutheran, Anglican, and “Free Church” rites stem.

To quote Dr. Maxwell: “The history of worship in the West may be divided more or less arbitrarily into three periods. The first is from 50 to 500 A.D., when worship was passing through the fluid stage to fixed forms. For the first three centuries Greek was the vernacular of (all) Christendom, but by the fourth century it was displaced (in the West) by Latin as the liturgical lan-

guage, and toward the end of the fourth century local Latin rites began to emerge as fixed forms. . . .

“The second period is roughly from 500 to 900. It began with the two Western parent-rites existing side by side; . . . it ended with the ascendancy of the Roman rite. . . .

“The third period is from approximately 900 to 1570, the period of the ascendancy of the Roman rite. During this time the rite was not absolutely fixed, but varied considerably in different dioceses and provinces. . . . The Canon, that part of the Consecration Prayer which follows the preface, has remained practically unchanged since the sixth century, but the rite as a whole did not assume its present fixed form until 1570.”

With a good many minor variations, it is still true to say that all these liturgies divide, internally, into two sections. The first is called by Maxwell (and others) “the liturgy of the word,” and the second “the liturgy of the faithful.” They derive, respectively, from the synagogue and from the upper room. Other names, given later, are “Missa Catechumenorum,” and “Missa Fidelium”—the mass of the catechumens and the mass of the faithful.

The former included, roughly:

Prayers and Litanies
Readings from Law, Prophets, Acts,
and Gospels, interspersed with psalms
by cantors
Sermon
Dismissal of catechumens, with a
prayer of blessing

Within the latter were to be found:

Deacon's Litany and Bishop's prayer
for the faithful
Salutation and response
Kiss of Peace
Preparation of the elements
Sursum Corda
Consecration of the elements
 Preface
 Sanctus
 Thanksgiving
 Words of Institution
 Memorial and Oblation
Epiclesis
Great Intercession
Lord's Prayer (usually)
Deacon's Litany and Bishop's prayer
Elevation
 Gloria in excelsis
 Benedictus qui venit
Delivery to the people, and
Communion
Deacon's exhortation and bidding
Bishop's post-communion, thanksgiving,
intercession
Bishop's prayer of blessing
Dismissal of people by Deacon

As is obvious from their names, the first section of the liturgy might be attended and participated in by anyone, while persons not full communicants were firmly excluded from the second. Later, however, they were allowed to remain, though they did not, of course, receive communion when that was administered.

Communion of the people—even the “faithful”—according to W. K. L. Clarke,¹⁵ had become increasingly infrequent after the time of Constantine, despite protests voiced by various Church Councils. By the sixth

century the minimum requirement was that the laity should communicate at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, but in 1215 this was reduced to Easter. About this time, or earlier, the Cup was withdrawn from the laity.

Masses multiplied in number, as each single mass was held to have value as an act of merit. Special intentions for masses became common, even to bring about the death of persons, though this was quickly forbidden.¹⁶

CHAPTER VI

THE LORD'S SUPPER IS REFORMED BY THE REFORMERS

THE GREAT NAMES of the Continental reformers are better known, on the whole, in other fields than for their activities of reform in connection with the Lord's Supper. Everyone has heard of Luther's quarrel with Tetzel and of the 95 theses tacked on the door of the Church at Wittenburg in 1517. Calvin's theological systematizations are familiar, at least in outline, to many who know nothing of his views on the great Christian sacrament.

It is nevertheless true that both these men, as well as Zwingli, made important contributions to the revisions in doctrine and practice concerning the Lord's Supper which the Reformation as a whole necessitated. In general, the Reformers attacked the Roman Mass, which was, of course, the only one they knew, at six principal points. These were, though not necessarily in this order either of time or importance, (1) the failure to give communion to the people often enough, (2) the use of Latin rather than a language understood by the people, (3) transubstantiation,¹ (4) sacrifice, (5) the practically universal neglect of preaching at Mass, and (6) the doctrine of the Schoolmen that the sacraments were "ex opere operato," that is, that by the mere use of the consecrating words and acts which made them

sacraments they were automatically effective in conveying grace to the recipient whether he believed in them or not. It is a gross misrepresentation of the designs of the Reformers to say, as is frequently said, that they wished to replace the Mass by a sermon. What they actually did desire was the replacement of the Mass by *a celebration of the Lord's Supper with sermon and communion*. This we shall see more and more clearly as we examine the teachings of these men.

Unfortunately, however, because of the Reformers' meager historical knowledge of the origins and principles of worship, the result was a "lamentable impoverishment" (Maxwell's phrase) of worship from which we have not even yet wholly recovered. But most impartial scholars conclude that their positive contributions much outweigh their demerits.

This chapter will be devoted to brief surveys of the sacramental teachings of each of these men.

MARTIN LUTHER

Central to Luther's concept of the Lord's Supper was the fellowship of Christians in and with the living Lord. Believing thus, he could not reasonably have wished to dispense with it. Nor did he. On the contrary, he desired to retain it as the central service of the Church, and at first wished to celebrate it daily, though he later came to prefer a weekly observance as a general rule.

Having the creation of this fellowship as his objective, he could not be satisfied with what the Roman Mass had become—a drama, a spectacle, from real participation in which the people were largely excluded by the use of an alien language and by the fact that most

of it, said *sotto voce* at the altar, was not even audible to them.

Luther unquestionably believed in the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, but he differed sharply with the formulation of it in the doctrine of transubstantiation. His own doctrine, which he called consubstantiation, differed not materially, in a philosophical or metaphysical sense, but it did differ importantly in the practical way of making a place in it for the faith of the worshiper.

In the same vein, Luther attacked the Roman Catholic doctrine of sacrifice in the Lord's Supper, but did not make the mistake of discarding it altogether. Instead, he transformed it into the self-oblation of the worshiper, mystically identified with Christ, who himself offers the sacrifice.

But it was with actual reform in the structure of the Mass rather than with its theological implications that Luther was most concerned. In 1523 he published his "Formula Missae." His changes were mostly in the nature of subtraction from and abbreviation of the Mass, in the interests of a return to primitive simplicity. In this first venture, he did not drop the Latin tongue, though three years later his "Deutsche Messe" used the vernacular. The better, more primitive elements of the Mass he retained—the careful preparation, the sense of mystery, the forgiveness of sins. He even preserved vestments, incense, and kneeling communion. As a form, it was truncated and defective, judged by Catholic practice—containing no prayer of consecration, thanksgiving, or intercession and hence, of course, no epiclesis. But it did have certain things indispensable to the new spirit of reality in worship, and

it gave the people an intelligible part in what was no longer a sacerdotal but a common action, and it restored the people's communion in both elements, bread and wine.

JOHN CALVIN

Like Luther, Calvin had no wish to replace sacramental worship with a mere preaching service. Also like Luther, his aim was to restore the Eucharist to primitive simplicity, with celebration and communion as a norm for weekly observance. Less original at this point than Luther, he borrowed rather than created, appropriating almost *in toto* the Strasburg rite, which was the work of Zwingli and Bucer, and translated it into French. It was put into use in 1540, in Geneva.

Ever the systematic theologian, Calvin carefully bounded his theology concerning the Lord's Supper, against supernaturalism on the one hand and Roman doctrine on the other. Against the first, he contended that the union of the Christian with Christ was union with him not only as Son of God, but also as Son of Man. Against the second, he excluded both the Roman transubstantiation and Luther's consubstantiation, which seemed to him essentially the same thing. He taught that reception of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist was in no sense material, but spiritual only, though he certainly believed in a real *spiritual* presence of Jesus in the Supper.

In a sense Calvin occupied a middle and mediatorial position between Luther and Zwingli, as may be seen when the latter's doctrine is examined. It was a great disappointment to him that the magistrates in Geneva would not permit more than an annual—later a quar-

terly—celebration of the Eucharist, and he contended to the end of his life for a weekly observance as the normal and proper practice.

In the “Institutes” and in his various “Tracts” Calvin sets forth his convictions concerning the Lord’s Supper. One or two quotations will serve to make them clear. “A true communication of Jesus Christ is presented to us in the Supper.”² “The internal substance of the Sacrament is conjoined with the visible signs, and as the bread is distributed to us by the hand, so the Body of Christ is communicated to us, in order that we may be partakers of it.”³ And finally, from the “Institutes,” we read, “Our souls are fed by Christ just as the corporeal life is sustained by bread and wine.”⁴

ZWINGLI

Zwingli, the Swiss, is probably the least well understood of any of the three great Continental Reformers in the matter of his doctrine of the Lord’s Supper. Because to him the memorial aspect of the rite was paramount, he is often thought to have seen nothing beyond it. But Barclay⁵ is probably right in saying that “in their essential teaching on the Holy Supper Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin were as one.”

Yet there certainly were some differences, not wholly negligible. Calvin and Luther, as Maxwell⁴ says, were scholastics, while Zwingli was a humanist, though not in the modern sense of that word. As such, he neglects the elements of mystery in the Lord’s Supper in favor of thanksgiving and fellowship. He retained, in his German rite published in Zurich in 1525, the division of the Eucharist into the two sections we have named, the Liturgy of the Word and the Liturgy of the Faithful.

From them, especially from the second, he deleted much of the Canon, though he kept the Words of Institution and, of course, the act of communion on the part of ministers and people. An innovation of his was the sitting communion. He was alone among the Reformers in advocating communion but four times annually,—at Easter, Pentecost, once during the autumn, and at Christmas.

That he was not a “mere memorialist” concerning the Lord’s Supper, however, is clear from these words of his own: “If I have called this a commemoration, I have done so in order to controvert those who would make of it a sacrifice. . . . We believe that Christ is truly present in the Lord’s Supper; yea, that there is no communion without such presence. . . . We believe that the true Body of Christ is eaten in the Communion, not in a gross and carnal manner, but in a spiritual and sacramental manner, by the religious, believing, and pious heart.”

As from a distance of four hundred years we view the work of these three great Reformers, and evaluate, as they could not do, the long-term results, we have great reason to be grateful to them. If at times we are tempted to think that they destroyed some valuable elements in the tradition of the Church Universal as it had come down to their time, we have only to read some accounts of the parlous state of the Church in that age to realize the heroic self-restraint they must have exercised in order not to destroy much more than they did.

Dr. Maxwell⁷ catalogues in these words some of the degraded ways into which the Roman Church of Luther’s day had fallen: “The Lord’s Supper in the

Western Church had become a dramatic spectacle, culminating not in communion but in the miracle of transubstantiation, and marked by adoration, not unmixed with superstition, at the elevation. Said inaudibly in an unknown tongue, and surrounded by ornate ceremonial and, if a sung mass, with elaborate musical accompaniment, the rite presented only meager opportunity for popular participation. The people were not encouraged to communicate more often than once a year. The sermon had fallen into a grave decline, most parish priests being too illiterate to preach; and the place of the Scripture readings had been usurped on a great many days by passages from the lives and legends of the saints. The Scriptures were not fully accessible in the vernacular, and paid masses and indulgences were a source of . . . exploitation."

. Against all this, the Reformers supplied a sadly needed corrective to an all-pervading sacerdotalism, and made it possible for a reformed Christian Church to face courageously and in a measure successfully the new world which even then science, exploration, and invention were beginning to build.

CHAPTER VII

THE LORD'S SUPPER IS ANGLICIZED BY THE ANGLICANS

IN AN EARLIER CHAPTER the phrase "historically Catholic and preferentially Protestant" was used to describe the Anglican Church. With this description Brilioth¹ substantially agrees as he points out the "dualism of doctrine and practice which remains one of the essential factors in its modern history, the root alike of its weakness and of its rich variety."

Up to and including the time of Henry VIII the Latin Mass remained in use unaltered in all England. Indeed, the title "Defensor fidei" (Defender of the faith) then bestowed upon the king, and carried by all English monarchs since that time, was earned by Henry for his stirring (and somewhat venomous) treatise against Luther's "Babylonian Captivity." Henry might defy the authority of the Pope, saying to Cardinal Wolsey that "the kings of England in times past had never any superior but God only," but during his reign the practice of the Christian faith, including, of course, the celebration of the Lord's Supper, remained practically Roman and practically unchanged. To be sure, there was not absolute uniformity;² the dominating "use" was that of Sarum, but there were also the "uses," among others, of York and Hereford. Transubstantia-

tion was believed and taught, the Mass was said in Latin, and its character as a sacrifice strongly defended.

Change, even after Henry's death and the accession of Edward VI in 1547, was gradual. But it was hastened by the fact that there was as Archbishop of Canterbury the famous and redoubtable Thomas Cranmer. Cranmer was a curious psychological combination of loyalty to the past and susceptibility to innovation. In the "Order of Communion" which he issued in 1543, the portions of the Lord's Supper he deemed essential to the proper consecration of the elements were still to be said in Latin, but a sermon or homily, as well as the Epistle and the Gospel, were to be in English.

Dr. John McNeill³ observes that "the Reformation in England arose primarily out of English conditions, not as a result of Continental influences." In a strict sense this may be true. Yet it is hardly possible that the English reformation should altogether escape the effects of the momentous events taking place just then on the Continent. Printing was in its infancy, but there was enough of it to make possible a far wider and more rapid diffusion of ideas than would have been the case even fifty years before. The Bible was being translated into the vernacular of the people—an enterprise in which England was in the forefront. Tyndale's New Testament had appeared in 1525, Coverdale's whole Bible ten years later, and in 1539 the Great Bible was ordered to be placed in all parish churches.

The year 1549 was an important year for the worshipers in English Churches. In that year was published "The booke of the common prayer and administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church; after the use of the Church of England."

This "booke" possesses, as regards the Lord's Supper, several characteristics of almost mutually contradictory nature, as becomes clear when they are put into parallel columns:

<i>Conservative (Roman) tendencies</i>	<i>Reformed (Protestant) tendencies</i>
Epiclesis retained	Communion of the people essential
Vestments retained	Service in English "in a loud voice"
Unleavened bread used	
Altars retained	
Idea of sacrifice retained . . . but . . .	In the modified form of a self-oblation
Only one communion a year required of the people	Mediation of the Virgin and saints rejected.

It was a noble attempt at acceptable compromise—acceptable to the whole English Church. And it almost succeeded. The pure and stately English of its prayers, its effort to hold in solution some of the finer characteristics of both types of thought—these and other qualities entitle this book to be regarded as a landmark in any history of liturgies.

But Cranmer, who with Ridley had been primarily responsible for the book of 1549, was not long satisfied with it. It fell just short, apparently, of really satisfying anybody—which is a not uncommon fate of attempts at compromise—and despite its merits it was never widely used. Cranmer fell more and more under the influence of Bucer whom, with two other Continental reforming scholars, he had invited to England. Bucer was Zwinglian, and lent his influence in favor of a still more Protestant version of the Prayer Book. The widespread dissatisfaction with this book of 1549 made such a project feasible because, although objections came from

both sides, those from persons favoring a more Protestant book were the more pervasive.

Hence it was that in 1552 a Second Prayer Book of Edward VI was issued, which made drastic changes—practically all of them in a Protestant direction. The more important were:

The Altar to become a Communion Table “in the midst of the church or the choir” (i.e., in the chancel)

Mass vestments forbidden

Epiclesis weakened

“Real Presence” interpreted Calvinistically⁴

Word “Mass” deleted

At least four persons must be present to receive communion

Sermon not required (This was the only one of the changes looking toward the old book)

Like the book it replaced, this one was never much used in England (though it received extensive use in Scotland) because the accession of Queen Mary plunged the country into a return to the Roman Mass in its entirety. Her successor, Queen Elizabeth, in 1559, restored essentially the Protestant-minded book of 1552, with some relatively minor variations of a Catholic nature. One more revision, making no vital changes, was made in 1662, since which time there has been no officially authorized change in the Church of England’s book of worship.

No account of the English scene would be complete without at least a mention of the Tractarian Movement, beginning in the 1830’s under the leadership of John Keble, Hurrell Froude, Pusey, and the greatest of them all, John Henry Newman. Keble began it while still a curate near Oxford, with the publication of a book of devotions in poetry called “The Christian Year” in

1827, at a time when, as Newman described it, the "general tone of religious literature was nerveless and impotent."

The emphasis of the Tractarian Movement (often named the Oxford Movement) was strongly sacramentarian, and when in 1833 Keble preached the Assize Sermon at Oxford under the title "National Apostasy," the movement began to gather impetus. What Keble called the "apostasy," of course, was the rejection by the national Church of what this group of devout and serious men believed to be the true doctrine of Christ's Real Presence in the Lord's Supper. What they proposed to substitute was, in point of fact, mediæval rather than primitive, but it was a movement in a direction opposite to the predominant Calvinism which had characterized the interpretation of the Lord's Supper under Queen Elizabeth and afterward.

As to actual effect in modifying official doctrine or the Prayer Book, the Tractarian Movement had none whatever. The heavy hand of authority suspended Pusey from preaching for three years, and Newman ultimately went over to the Roman Church. It did, however, greatly influence the inner thinking of the Church in the direction of a "higher" sacramental view of the Lord's Supper; and it had also the unquestionably beneficial effect of enhancing the spirit of reverence and devotion with which the laity as a whole regarded it. The Church of England would today be much poorer, spiritually, if the Tractarians had not lived and preached and written as they did, even though its actual liturgy shows not a trace of their work.

Its effect, then, upon *authorized* practice in the celebration of the Lord's Supper was zero. But its effects

in the "twilight zone" between what was permitted and what was forbidden was very considerable. There were even some encroachments upon the zone of what was forbidden. Vestments became more ornate, ritual more elaborate, and the practice of the reservation of the sacrament was, surreptitiously and with the convenient connivance of some bishops, restored.*

Nor has the momentum of this movement even yet spent itself. Modern Anglo-Catholicism looks back upon Keble, Pusey, and Newman (in his Anglican days) as its patron saints. A generation ago Bishop Gore was its most eminent and eloquent spokesman, with his mediating doctrine of the Lord's Supper. His position was, essentially,⁵ that the Eucharist is a recurrent reproduction and extension of the Incarnation itself, but spiritual, not material. There is even, to use Brilioth's words,⁶ an Augustinian note in it—"a new emphasis on the unity of the Church's act, through its priests, with the work of the great High-priest in heaven."

Today Anglo-Catholicism, both in England and in the United States, has left Bishop Gore far behind, and

* Note on "reservation": The practice of reservation of the sacrament was (and still is) in Roman Catholic, and in some Anglican and American Protestant Episcopal Churches, that of setting aside a portion of the bread and wine after their consecration, and placing it in the "tabernacle" on the altar. Where "perpetual reservation" is practised, a light is kept burning before the tabernacle, that the devout worshiper may know Christ Himself is present, for the consecrated elements, in this view, are actually the Body and Blood of Christ. From this reserved sacrament portions may be taken by the clergy to the sick, thus obviating the need of consecration in the sick-room before the patient and those with him are given communion.

"Reservation" is sometimes practised also in the more limited sense that a portion of the consecrated elements are not given to communicants at the time and place of the celebration of the Mass or Holy Communion, nor consumed by the priest immediately afterward, but are taken directly to the sick without being placed in the tabernacle.

tends to interpret the Real Presence in terms practically indistinguishable from the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. As evidence, consider the statement adopted by the English Church Union, and endorsed by numerous Anglo-Catholic groups in this country, which includes these words: "The bread and wine . . . become in and by consecration . . . verily and indeed the body and blood of Christ, (who is) under the form of bread and wine to be worshiped and adored."

In the daughter Church of the Church of England, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, the sacramental view reflects quite accurately the anomalous and confused situation in the Church of England. The official formulation of the Episcopal Church's doctrine of the Lord's Supper is to be found in the 28th of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. These Articles of Religion were adopted, in 1801, from those of the Church of England with only minor changes. They may be found in any Protestant Episcopal Prayer Book. This Article 28 explicitly denies transubstantiation, saying that "it cannot be proved by Holy Writ, is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, (and) overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament. . . ." The Article then continues, "The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten . . . only after a heavenly and spiritual manner. And the means . . . is Faith." Nevertheless, there is a fairly strong and more than fairly vocal Anglo-Catholic group within this Church which in doctrine—and in practice so far as tolerated by the bishops, each acting for his own diocese—tends toward the Roman Catholic norm.

This resemblance on the part of the Anglican Church to Mr. Facing-both-ways in "Pilgrim's Progress" has

both its defects and its merits. If, on the one hand, it is a position measurably less than admirable to those whose allegiance invariably goes out to the stern and the uncompromising, on the other hand it has certain features of tolerance and comprehensiveness which in a practical world like ours have their own values. In closing this chapter on the Lord's Supper in Anglicanism, therefore, we may well look at it, in summary, from both the Catholic and the Protestant standpoints.

Of the Lord's Supper as the Prayer Book directs its celebration in the Anglican Churches, the thoroughgoing Catholic—Roman or Anglo—would say, in commendation:

- (1) It preserves the traditional order of the Mass.
- (2) Its language of devotion is superb.
- (3) It uses terms which permit interpretation in the more traditional ideas of a sacrifice.

The Catholic critic, on the other hand, would level against it some such objections as these:

- (1) It sacrifices the universality of the Latin language by its use of the vernacular.
- (2) It repudiates transubstantiation.
- (3) Its epiclesis is weak,⁷ and its "intention" (to do what the Church has always intended to do) doubtful, both because of its denial of transubstantiation.
- (4) By its rather stern prohibition of extra-liturgical devotions—reservation, benediction, and the like—it weakens its hold upon the average worshiper.
- (5) It overemphasizes the importance of communion in both elements on the part of the people.

The Protestant, looking at the Anglican Eucharist, would find to commend:

(1) Its insistence upon communion of the people, and in both the bread and the cup.

(2) The usual requirement of a sermon accompanying the celebration of it.

(3) Its use of the vernacular in an audible voice.

(4) The beauty of its diction.

(5) Its repudiation of transubstantiation.

(6) The place it makes for the necessity of faith on the part of the worshiper to make the sacrament efficacious for him.

The liberal Protestant might object to :

(1) Some archaisms and anachronisms in its language, as for example in the Prayer of Consecration and in some of the proper prefaces.

(2) The incorporation of a fixed creed into it.

(3) Its structural rigidity in general.

Reserved for separate comment is perhaps the most vital question of all in connection with the Catholic and Protestant views of the Lord's Supper as mediated by the Anglican view. This, of course, is the question of who may legitimately celebrate it. This will be more fully discussed in Chapter X, but the question needs at least to be mentioned here. The Roman Catholic would say, of course, that Mass cannot possibly be celebrated with either validity or efficacy by anyone except a priest (1) validly ordained by a bishop of the Apostolic Succession, (2) using the words and acts set forth in the authorized liturgies of the Church, and (3) intending to do what the Church intends to do in the Sacrament. To the Anglican these are matters of scarcely less importance, except that he would make greater allowance for the operation of God's grace through a celebration which may lack some of the aspects of technical lawfulness.⁸ The Protestant would insist that any observance

of the Lord's Supper which was intended by minister and people to accomplish what Jesus intended to accomplish would be lawful, valid, and a means of grace to the worshiper if he himself is prepared to enter spiritually into the significance of the occasion. The Protestant generally would doubtless agree that for reasons of order it is better to have a regularly ordained minister preside, and an authorized sort of service followed, though not necessarily a fixed form. He would differ, very considerably, in his view of what constitutes a "regularly ordained" minister from both the Roman Catholic and the Anglican—matters which will be considered later. And he would not deem even these two latter things absolutely essential to a celebration of the Lord's Supper.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LORD'S SUPPER IN CONTEMPORARY PROTESTANTISM

IF WE HAVE DELAYED thus long in this study before entering upon definitions, it is in order that the historical facts upon which to base definitions might first be before us. For the Lord's Supper does not proceed from or depend upon definitions. It grows out of the soil of history; all definition can do is to explain and interpret, not create. Moreover, the language of philosophy has one definition; the language of devotion has another, and these two ought not to be contradictory or mutually exclusive, but supplementary, each to the other. Hence we shall want to know what contemporary philosophy and devotion are saying about the sacraments in general and about this sacrament in particular, and then see how such definitions accord with the historical reality as it has developed to the stage in which we see it.

A definition of sacrament in very sober terms is that of C. C. J. Webb in the *Encyclopedia Britannica's* article entitled "Sacrament": "The title given by Christians to an external rite or ceremony regarded as the instrument, or at least the symbol, of the reception by those who participate in it of a spiritual benefit whereof Christ is the author."

As both J. C. Lambert ¹ and D. S. Schaff ² agree, the

word "sacrament" itself had originally a two-fold meaning. In a passive sense and as a legal term, it meant a sum of money deposited by the parties to a dispute or a suit, forfeited by the loser and "devoted to sacred uses" (Lambert) or "kept in a sacred place" (Schaff). In an active sense, the word had a military connotation—the oath (*sacramentum*) taken by newly enlisted soldiers. Obviously, both uses have carried over into our Christian thinking—the first as meaning something set apart for sacred uses and the second as a vow of self-consecration.

In early Christian history the word, "sacrament," was loosely applied to cover many rites and ceremonies. Tertullian was probably the first to use it at all. Augustine called baptism and the eucharist sacraments "in an eminent sense," but allowed other rites—ordination, for example, also to be called sacraments. This great theologian defined a sacrament as "a visible sign of a thing divine."

Hugo of St. Victor wrote the first formal treatise on sacraments about 1140. It was called "On the Mysteries of the Christian Faith." Though there was some disposition in his time to insist on keeping the true sacraments to the supposedly mystical number of seven, Hugo does not stress more than five—baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, unction, and penance. He mentions no less than thirty, however, which had been recognized as sacraments at various times.

The number of sacraments was officially and finally set at seven by the Council of Trent in 1547, thus confirming the decision of the Council of Florence about a century earlier. The Reformers, by insisting that to warrant the title of sacrament, a rite must be shown to

have been "ordained" by Jesus himself, reduced the number to two—Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Aside from Augustine's definition just quoted, one of Peter Lombard's has carried over into our modern time more exactly than any other coming from primitive or patristic times. Peter defined a sacrament as "an outward and visible sign of an inward divine grace"—a definition which, with the change of but a single word ("divine" to "spiritual") survives exactly as the authorized definition of a sacrament in the Anglican Churches today,³ though that definition adds, following the rule of the Reformers, "ordained by Christ himself." This definition, therefore, reads in full:

Question: What do you mean by this word Sacrament?

Answer: I mean . . . an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ himself. . . .

Among other definitions, two may be mentioned—one the official definition of the Westminster Shorter Catechism, the other the construction of a careful Anglican scholar. The former reads, "A sacrament is a holy ordinance instituted by Christ wherein by sensible signs Christ and the benefits of the new covenant are represented, sealed, and applied to believers." Canon Quick's definition⁴ is: "A Christian sacrament is a ritual act, using a certain form and matter, which represents some universal relation of human life to God through Christ and also, in thus representing all life, makes life worthy to be thus represented."

Christianity, of course, is not the only religion which makes use of sacraments. If Canon Quick, just quoted, is right in saying⁵ that anything may be sacramental

which expresses to men God's will and purpose—holy places as sacraments of space, holy days as sacraments of time—then well-nigh every religion has its sacramental life. But Christianity at its best has been able to escape more than most the dangerous tendency of sacramentalism “to verge (again to quote Canon Quick⁶) toward magic, toward mechanism or toward bare symbolism.” The escape has not been complete, however, as may be seen in such Christian doctrines as transubstantiation, illustrating the tendency toward magic; the *ex opere operato* of the Schoolmen, illustrating the danger of mechanism; the lack of warmth and drama at most Protestant altars today, illustrating one of the perils of symbolism—the acceptance of the symbol but the denial of the reality.

There would seem to be little in the more modern and complex definitions of sacrament which is not adequately comprehended in the simple language of the Episcopal Prayer Book—“an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace . . . ordained by Christ himself.” Accepting that, at least tentatively, by its principle let us see what a modern liberal-minded Protestant can believe about the Lord's Supper.

The “outward and visible sign” gives us no difficulty. Certainly Jesus used, at the Last Supper, food and drink, as symbolic of life's simplest, most fundamental needs. That the Mithraic Mystery, coincidentally with the Lord's Supper, also used bread and wine, need cause no concern. A. C. Bouquet⁷ readily concedes that “the mechanism (so to speak) of the sacramental meal . . . is the same outside Christianity as in it.” The difference (he points out) “lies in the character of the deity.” Precisely; Jesus Christ is a historical, flesh-

and-blood person; Mithra is a myth—a rather admirable myth, but still a myth. The projection into future time in the form of a sacrament of the command of the historical personage is necessarily more vital and compelling than the mythical commemoration of the second, even though the event takes place in more or less similar form.

The inward and spiritual part, or thing signified, the Prayer Book Office of Instruction continues, is “the Body and Blood of Christ (might we not better say the LIFE of Christ?) which are spiritually taken and received by the faithful in the Lord’s Supper.” The language used is a guard at the very outset against a materialistic concept of the place of the elements of bread and wine in the Lord’s Supper—“*. . . spiritually taken and received by the faithful*” (i.e., those “full of faith” or “having faith”). Here is speech which reminds one of the definition from the pen of the poet Goethe: “A sacrament is the partaking of heavenly under the form of earthly nourishment.” Indeed, the Office of Instruction goes on, in much this vein, to describe the benefits of the Lord’s Supper as “the strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the Body and Blood of Christ as our bodies are by the bread and wine.”

Here is small room for a doctrine of sacrifice in anything like the mediæval sense. An element of sacrifice there undoubtedly is in the Lord’s Supper, as we shall see later (Chapter XII). But it does not enter in any form which Cyprian, for example, would have recognized. There is, of course, a marked inconsistency between the language of this instruction and that of the Canon of the Holy Communion in the same Prayer

Book. In the latter we find expressions such as (Christ's) "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction," which give aid and comfort to those who would interpret the Communion in (almost Roman) Catholic terms. We have also the more Augustinian—and Calvinist—phraseology: "And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice." And we have this phrase—"spiritually taken and received"—from the Office of Instruction in which no specific doctrine of sacrifice appears at all.

However inconsistent and anomalous the Anglican position may be on the doctrine of sacrifice in the Lord's Supper, no doubt is left as to where the Church stands on the matter of transubstantiation. This is expressly and categorically repudiated, as already noted, in Article 28 of the Articles of Religion.

All this by no means prevents belief in what is usually called the "real presence" of Christ in the Eucharist. This is not at all the same doctrine as that of transubstantiation, and can perfectly well be held by anyone who is willing to accept, in general, a sacramental belief as described by this Prayer Book definition.

Following in general the thought of Bouquet,⁸ the distinction can be made that transubstantiation is localization of the divine presence in the elements, while in the doctrine of the Real Presence the localization, if localization there be, is not in the elements but in the sacrament as a whole. This is precisely the position of Adamson,⁹ who says, "Christ is present in the Sacrament as a whole rather than in the elements." Richard Hooker¹⁰ limits the matter still farther by saying that

“the real presence of Christ . . . is not therefore to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament.”

It is Bouquet's thought that to believe in some kind of localization of divine presence is not contrary to Christian principles. It may well be true, as he cites evidence from anthropology to show, that imageless religions are found at the very bottom and again at the very top of the scale of religious practice. Doubtless at the bottom men have not yet learned to make images, or other localizations; in the upper stages they have learned to dispense with them. Undoubtedly, a belief in the Real Presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper is a belief in localization of that Presence *somewhere*—whether in the elements (as with the Tractarians), in the Sacrament as a whole (Adamson), or in the worthy, faithful recipient (Hooker). But Jesus, says Bouquet,¹¹ “neither condemns nor licenses localization. . . . (He was) tolerant alike of John's baptism and of the Temple sacrifices, but was tied and limited by neither. He would have regarded with tolerance the psychological make-up of so many human beings which prevents them from apprehending the spiritual presence of God or of appropriating His gifts save through sacramental emblems.” In other words, as even A. N. Whitehead¹² points out, “Symbolism is no mere idle fancy or corrupt degeneration; it is inherent in the very texture of human life. . . . The object of symbolism is the enhancement of the importance of what is symbolized.”

We have, then, in this definition of a sacrament, a statement simple, vital, and basically spiritual. It makes clear that the “outward and visible sign” and the “inward and spiritual grace” are both present, and neces-

sarily present. It allows a reasonable interpretation of sacrifice, but is adamant against admitting transubstantiation. At the same time it does not bar a belief, to which "the theology of the heart" may lead us, in a very Real Presence of Christ after a spiritual manner. Finally, it cites its own authority as having been ordained by Christ himself.

Moreover, though it is an Anglican statement, there is nothing in it inconsistent with Free Church principles. It derives from the "preferentially Protestant" aspect of the Anglican Church. And as such, it may serve as one of the piers in the bridge over which ultimately hosts of believers may pass on their way to Christian reunion. Concerning this aspect of the matter more will be said in Chapter X.

When we have said all this about the modern Protestant and liberal view of the Lord's Supper, we have come to substantial agreement with Nathaniel Micklem.¹³ What is vital in the Sacrament, he says, is God's action, not the priest's. Then he continues: "What man does is secondary but not therefore unimportant. . . . The Sacrament is a symbol or sign whereby the act of Christ is as it were extended and brought home to believers. The Sacraments derive their whole meaning from the redeeming work of Christ, finding their essential nature not in bread and wine, but in action. Hence, though they are powerful aids to the Christian life, when properly appreciated and received, they are not necessary for individual salvation, though for the Church they are so necessary as to be part of its essential life."

The simple definition of a sacrament which we have appropriated from the Episcopal Office of Instruction

has one further virtue. In its whole inner sense, it carries straight back to Jesus and the upper room. It stops nowhere on the way, whether at Calvin, or Luther, or the mediæval Church, or the Church Fathers.

We have spoken approvingly of Micklem's view of the Sacraments. At another point, however, he makes a statement somewhat lacking in tolerance and understanding, perhaps because he is not primitive enough. He quotes Martin Luther: "The word alone is the vehicle of grace." Evidently Luther means here not the Word—"Logos"—in the sense of the prologue of the Fourth Gospel, but the Word in the sense of the Bible and preaching. Micklem then goes on,¹⁴ "This is the fundamental premise of the Protestant doctrine of the Sacraments of the Church. The sacraments convey grace because they are modes of the Word." Then he adds, rather too complacently, and not with entire justice to the Roman Catholic and Anglican historic realities, "Except in historic Protestantism, the sacraments have been degraded into a mere symbolism or to an impersonal operation." This goes too far. There is no warrant for supposing that the grace of God cannot and does not work through the Sacraments to man's spiritual good, even when man's methods of administering them have been imperfect.

To refer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper directly back to Jesus, both in origin and in meaning is to make of it a memorial of Jesus, an act of thanksgiving, a recognition of fellowship, a self-sacrifice, and a sacred mystery.

CHAPTER IX

REQUIREMENTS FOR A MODERN LITURGY OF THE LORD'S SUPPER

WHEN ONE SPEAKS of a "liturgy" among Free Churchmen, one feels that it is in a certain sense a contradiction in terms. The very existence of rigid liturgical forms was, of course, one of the bones of contention between the Reformers and the undivided Church. As was indicated in Chapter VI, the contention did not appear in this form at first, but the Reformation movement had not progressed very far when more and more of the liturgical elements of worship tended to disappear. This was particularly true among the Puritans in England and the inheritors of their tradition. Yet even among them, as William E. Barton writes, the opinion "was not that prescribed prayers were themselves sinful, but that no civil or ecclesiastical body had power to prescribe a form of prayer that must be used. . . . Although some of the Puritans went to the extreme of denouncing all written or printed prayers, their general contention was not that these are unlawful, but that they are unprofitable."¹

Regarding the Lord's Supper, however, the case is a little different than where only prayers of a general nature are concerned. Here is a rite having a definite

historical basis, including certain words and acts recorded in the New Testament as having been spoken and performed by Jesus. Inevitably these words and acts would be included in any sort of ceremonial observance of the sacrament which had in the course of the years developed from that institution by him. Regardless of how many variant elements were introduced to surround and embellish it, this nexus would remain practically invariable. And so it is; from the most free of the Free Churches to the Roman Catholic Mass, our Lord's words of institution are used and the bread and cup broken and blessed, though there may be, in addition, very little more on the one hand or a great deal more on the other.

As a matter of fact, in even those liturgies—the Anglican, for example—which to us of the Free Churches seem at first sight quite rigid there are more elements of flexibility than is commonly supposed. Collect, Epistle, and Gospel change from week to week; for certain seasons and festivals of the Church year Proper Prefaces are introduced, and there are other items which change with the season or with the intent of the celebration. It is not, therefore, a question of whether there shall be variation or no variation, for no liturgy exists without some variation. It is a question of the relative weights to be assigned to the variable and invariable constituent parts of the service.

Having these foregoing facts in mind, therefore, two things are readily apparent. The first is that no liturgy should be or can hope to be accepted, speaking for Protestant Churches generally, which does not contain as an invariable core Jesus' words of institution and a more or less accurate repetition of his manual acts. To these

there may be added few or many enhancing features, variable at will. The second is that no ceremony of any kind should be or can hope to be accepted in the local Church which is autocratically imposed as a rule by outside ecclesiastical authority.

If this statement seems too dogmatic, let it be qualified somewhat by saying that this would be wholly true for Churches of the Congregational order, where the local congregation is a law unto itself, but somewhat less true for Churches like the Methodist and Presbyterian, in which there is a larger measure of centralized authority and government.

Perhaps two other factors may be mentioned in these preliminary considerations as being present in almost every observance of the Lord's Supper among Protestant Christians. One is the inclusion of a sermon, and the other is the administration of the bread and the cup to the people as an act of communion. A Lord's Supper without a sermon or meditation would be extremely rare, unless celebrated in private for a sick person. A Lord's Supper without communion, such as the majority of Roman Catholic Masses, or an Anglican non-communicating Eucharist, would be unthinkable, because to a Protestant mind this would deny the very essence of this sacrament of fellowship.

Assuming that there ought to be any sort of modern liturgy for the Lord's Supper at all, two points of view bear upon the question of how it ought to be constructed.

The one which may most conveniently be dealt with first is the theological. In a few sentences to summarize the views commonly accepted and believed among us, we may say that, generally, Protestants believe certain things about the Lord's Supper, and as definitely disbe-

lieve certain others. We believe, about the Lord's Supper:

(1) That Jesus instituted it, expecting it to be continued by his followers.

(2) That it represents the sacrifice Jesus willingly made of himself in living as he did and dying as he did, and that he calls upon us in the Lord's Supper, representing the whole of our living, to offer ourselves as "reasonable, holy and living sacrifices" for the good life of the world, following his example.

(3) That the observance of the Lord's Supper ought to be an occasion for devout thanksgiving for all God gives to men, and supremely for His gift to mankind of Jesus Christ.

(4) That in the celebration of the Lord's Supper there may be—indeed, ought to be—to the worshiper, conditioned only by the degree of his faith and his spirit of devotion, a "real presence" of the Lord in the sacrament as a whole.

(5) That an observance of the Lord's Supper valid to convey God's grace to the worshipping participant ought in all but the most extraordinary circumstances to be celebrated by a minister duly authorized by his Church to do so, but that on very exceptional occasions (to quote Fabritius ²) "any man, even a laic, appointed by the Church to administer the sacrament, if he does it, does nothing but his duty, and neither offends against the faith nor against good order."

On the other hand, we as definitely disbelieve transubstantiation, or any other doctrine which holds that anything happens to the bread and the cup as a result of words said or acts performed by the minister to make of them anything they were not before, except to

set them apart for sacred and reverent use, as symbols of the great truth that since all things come of God, we give Him but of His own. We cannot believe—and this is the converse or negative formulation of statement (5) above—that the privilege of validly celebrating the Lord's Supper is divinely reserved to any particular set of ministers as, for example, those in the tactual chain of apostolic succession. Whether this "tactual chain of apostolic succession" is an historic reality or an historic fiction is not relevant here, and need not be argued. The statement is independent of the truth or falsity of the historic case for apostolic succession.

Application of these theological criteria would require that a modern liturgy for the Lord's Supper include:

(1) Jesus' words of institution, and the reproduction by the celebrant of his act of breaking bread, blessing a cup, and distributing both to the congregation.

(2) Prayers or other statements of the meaning of the sacrament in terms of

A. Thanksgiving for all God's gifts and especially for His gift of Christ to the world.

B. A sense of sacrifice, in that the people in the sacrament offer to God material gifts spiritual in meaning, and offer also themselves in His service.

(3) On the negative side, nothing would be allowable which could be construed as an epiclesis. Nevertheless, room ought to be left for the devout and spiritually-minded worshiper to accept the belief that, to express it in the words of Bishop Moule of Durham, quoted in another connection: ³ "Our Lord is present, not *on* the Holy Table, but *at* it," with all the comfort-

ing and inspiring significance such a belief in a real presence provides.

It is too much to hope, of course, that any liturgy could completely express every individual's full faith or, on the other hand, meet every individual's objections. But surely it may reasonably be asked that there be no major discrepancies between what Protestants in general believe about the Lord's Supper and the expression of that belief in worship. In the Roman Catholic Mass, practice is exactly consistent with official statements of belief. Though the Free Churches have less definitive theological statements, usually, there is such a thing among us as a general consensus of belief, a "sense of the meeting," so to speak, with which our practice in worship ought to agree with reasonable exactness. We ought not to permit the existence of anomalies or contradictions which affirm in belief about the Lord's Supper what they deny in worship, or deny in belief what they affirm in worship.

The second point of view which ought to bear upon the construction of a modern liturgy of the Lord's Supper is that of liturgical propriety in the art of worship. Difficult though this concept may be to reduce to exact terms, it is none the less possible to express its general sense by a judicious blending of words, acts, and order which shall be congruous with sound psychological premises, which shall maintain some substantial contact with traditional observances, and which shall express a vital personal and social religious message.

In one respect, at least, modern psychology but reinforces the traditional practice in worship of placing confession before praise. In the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, for example, both the choir offices

(Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer) and the Holy Communion place acts of confession early in the service. In Morning and Evening Prayer a general confession is said by minister and people before words of praise are uttered. In the portion of the Holy Communion corresponding to the ancient *Missa Catechumenorum* (all up to and including the sermon), the use of the Decalogue or the Summary of the Law, with the people's responses, is for the purpose of enabling the people to make both individual and corporate confession of sin. In that portion which reproduces the traditional *Missa Fidelium* another general confession is placed, preceding the consecration and the communion proper.

This order is psychologically sound. From our homes and from the city streets or the country roads we come to church, with our minds a *mêlée* of worldly affairs. How can we rightly praise God until we have emptied our souls of extraneous and disharmonious thought? And what more appropriate way is there of doing so than by humble confession to rid ourselves of all that holds us back from perfect communion with the Holy? In the great sixth chapter of the Book of Isaiah the prophet accepts the need of purification and forgiveness, symbolized by the touching of his lips with a live coal from the altar, before he presumes to offer himself for the work of God. In the same way our modern worship, including that of the Lord's Supper, may well by confession seek like purification and forgiveness before we essay to praise God or to serve Him. Hence it accords both with ancient practice and modern knowledge to build a liturgy in which confession, in one form or another receives an early place.

There are two ways in which a modern liturgy of the Lord's Supper may keep contact with traditional observances. One is by the use of ancient prayers, and the other by observance of traditional arrangement or order.

Though a modern liturgy ought not slavishly to imitate either, it may well be remembered, on the other hand, that although all wisdom in this, as in other fields, did not end with the apostles, neither did it begin with the twentieth century.

Many of the finest prayers from ancient liturgies of the Lord's Supper are preserved intact (outside the Roman Catholic Missal) in Lutheran and Anglican service books. The Protestant Episcopal Church has at least two collects which are gems of devotional literature. The one with which the service of Holy Communion opens (after the Lord's Prayer, when that is said) reads:

Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid, cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love Thee, and worthily magnify Thy holy Name, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

The second of them follows the reading of either the Ten Commandments or the Summary of the Law. It reads:

O Almighty Lord, and everlasting God, vouchsafe, we beseech Thee, to direct, sanctify, and govern, both our hearts and bodies, in the ways of Thy laws, and in the works of Thy commandments; that, through Thy most mighty protection, both here and ever, we may be preserved in body and soul, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Nothing can surpass in depth of innate religious feeling the first half of the Prayer of Humble Access, appearing immediately before the act of communion. It might well be used in part, at least, as a unison confession, by minister and people. Its first sentences are as follows:

We do not presume to come to this Thy Table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in Thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under Thy Table. But Thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy. . . .

Numerous phrases and paragraphs from other prayers in this great liturgy, many of them tracing back, as we have seen, to Archbishop Cranmer, are well worthy of inclusion in any modern liturgy of the Lord's Supper. At the same time, it must be said also that many of its other prayers would hardly, if used in full, commend themselves to the liberal Protestant mind as being in accord with the theological viewpoints suggested at the beginning of this chapter. The closing portion of the Prayer of Humble Access, just quoted, is only one example of reversion to mediæval Roman Catholic theology which would be quite unacceptable to most Protestants:

Grant us, therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood.

Again, one may go much farther back into Christian liturgical history and find beautiful and appropriate prayers. James D. Morrison⁴ quotes one from the

Liturgy of Malabar which might well be used as a prayer of thanksgiving after communion :

Grant, O Lord, that the ears which have heard the voice of Thy songs may be closed to the voices of clamor and dispute; that the eyes which have seen Thy great love may also behold Thy blessed hope; that the tongues which have sung Thy praise may speak the truth; that the feet which have walked in Thy courts may walk in the regions of light; and that the souls of all who have received Thy blessed sacrament may be restored to newness of life. Glory be to Thee for Thine unspeakable gift. Amen.

In the Liturgy of Bishop Sarapion (also in the Apostolic Constitutions, and in the Didache in slightly different form) is found this, which would be an effective part of a prayer of consecration :

For as this bread was scattered upon the mountains, and having been gathered together became one loaf, so also, O Lord, gather together Thy holy Church from every race and every country and city and village and household, and make it a living Catholic (Universal)* Church.

One might continue indefinitely to cite such choice examples of devotion from literally innumerable sources, old and new. Among others more or less contemporary would be the prayer books and service books of various Churches, such compilations as "The Book of Common Worship"⁵ or, for the social emphasis, Rauschenbusch's "Prayers of the Social Awakening."⁶ But enough examples have been mentioned to show that there is no lack of material for building any number of modern liturgies of the Lord's Supper.

Not strictly to be classed as prayers, but deserving mention in any such study as this, are such elements,

* Parentheses mine—Author.

practically universal in liturgical uses, as an exhortation before confession, the "Comfortable Words," the "Sursum Corda," and the "Sanctus." If any portions of a modern liturgy of the Lord's Supper should *invariably*, or almost invariably, be present, these would normally be among them.

What has heretofore been lacking in our Free Churches has not been materials. What we have, generally speaking, failed to do is, first, to build a liturgy consistent with our theology, and second, to build a liturgy within the framework of any recognizable order. Such efforts as have been made have often, in their desire not to be bound by the traditional, ignored almost entirely any reference to that general order and consecutiveness which have given firm flesh and substance to the expressions of spiritual reality in the older liturgies.

In closing this chapter, therefore, let us suggest some such generally applicable framework. Within this framework, variation might permissibly be quite extensive, but the framework itself might well remain, as marking the link with tradition, as guarding against careless, haphazard, or undignified observances of the sacrament, and as providing for the people a track along which the mind may travel easily toward the goals of devotion.

There is no reason for attempting to preserve the ancient distinction between the Liturgy of the Word and the Liturgy of the Upper Room, for we no longer wish to exclude, as from a secret mystery, any worshipers present who may not be, formally, members of our congregations. Much more important is the need of gradually and on valid psychological premises

rising in worshipful devotion toward the spiritual climax of the celebration. This climax, for us, is not, as for those of the Catholic tradition, the moment of consecration. It is the communion of the people. Toward this the whole service is directed, and to it all else is subordinate.

The framework of a modern liturgy of the Lord's Supper ought, in view of what has been said heretofore, to consist of six steps, about as follows:

(1) *Confession and Forgiveness*. Here, minister and people would strive to purge their minds of all that might hinder a complete spiritual identification with the purpose of the sacramental hour. If a declaration of forgiveness or "absolution" is included, it would of course be in the first person plural—"we" and "us," not "I" and "you."

(2) *Instruction*. The second step would consist of reading from the Scriptures, or a sermon, or both.

(3) *Devotional Preparation for Communion*. Within this third stage would be found devotional materials which would generally include, as invariable elements, the Comfortable Words, the Sursum Corda, and the Sanctus.

(4) *The Blessing of the Bread and the Cup*. At this point, the bread would be blessed and broken by the minister, and the cup "taken," or held in the minister's hands before the congregation, accompanied by the repetition of Jesus' words of institution.

(5) *Communion*. Here the bread and contents of the Cup are distributed to the congregation, by whatever method is customary in the Church.

(6) *Thanksgiving and Praise*. Not by any means the least important phase of such a liturgy would be post-

communion prayers in the spirit of thanksgiving and praise to God for His gifts symbolized in the sacrament.

A modern liturgy thus constructed meets several very desirable objectives. It provides both variable and invariable elements, thus giving a sense of continuity and familiarity without encouraging the formalism so likely to result when the variable elements are reduced to very small proportions. It "builds up" psychologically toward the climax of communion and the natural impulse toward praise and thanksgiving which follow upon that great spiritual experience.

CHAPTER X

THE LORD'S SUPPER—BRIDGE OR BARRIER TO CHRISTIAN REUNION

IT IS A CURIOUS FACT—a fact not very creditable to any of us, as Christians, that the question posed in the title of this chapter cannot be considered on its own merits alone. The reason is that it is inextricably bound up with the question of proper and valid ministries. If the Lord's Supper might validly be celebrated by any Christian, it could validly be received by any Christian. But it may not validly be celebrated by any Christian, according to very large sections of Christian opinion and teaching. These large sections of the supposed Church Universal hold that it can validly be celebrated only by a minister, and further, only by a minister holding a particular kind of power conveyed only by a particular kind of ordination at the hands of other particular kinds of ministers.

Hence any discussion of the Lord's Supper as a bridge or as a barrier to Christian reunion depends upon a prior understanding of the concepts of the Christian ministry held by various Christian communions. As Dr. William Adams Brown observes,¹ three positions concerning the ministry are widely held.

The Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Anglican Churches hold that a ministry of a certain sort—epis-

copacy—is absolutely necessary to any truly united Church. Protestant Churches, in general, agree that some sort of order is essential, as well as some general formulation of faith. They would insist, however, that order as well as faith has been progressively and flexibly revealed throughout history. At the other extreme of the scale are certain groups of Christians who would take the position that order is almost wholly unimportant, that it may indeed become positively harmful, and that it is at most a matter of mere convenience. It is roughly true, as the 1937 Conference on Faith and Order at Edinburgh, Scotland, pointed out, that this represents a deep cleavage between what may be called “authoritarian” and “personal” concepts of religion and the Church.²

There are differences, as everyone knows, even within each group. The Roman Church takes its position without the slightest degree of flexibility or concession. In its official view, Protestant ministers, be they never so devout and consecrated followers of Christ, are simply not ministers at all, and they can do nothing in, with, or for their congregations more than a well-meaning Christian layman can do to influence people toward Christian living.* This completely intransigent attitude toward Christian unity, except upon its own terms, does nothing to advance that cause, but it has at least the merit of definiteness. Concerning it, everyone knows exactly where he stands.

The Anglican position, officially, is not very different. It is thus stated in the Preface to the Ordinal (the

* A good many Roman Catholics, lay and even clerical, are in point of fact much more tolerant and wide-minded than this, as men are often better than their creeds. Officially, however, this position holds.

services of Ordination of Deacons and Priests and the Consecration of Bishops) in the Book of Common Prayer:³ "It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Which offices were evermore had in such reverend estimation, that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he were . . . with Imposition of Hands, approved and admitted thereunto by Lawful Authority. And therefore, to the intent that these Orders may be continued and reverently used and esteemed in this Church, no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, in this Church, or suffered to execute any of the said Functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the Form hereafter following, or hath had Episcopal Consecration or Ordination."

The saving phrase here is "in this Church." Liberally interpreted, as it is by many Anglicans interested in Christian unity, it permits the conclusion to be drawn that although no ministry is valid *for the Anglican Churches* except this, other types of ministry for other Churches may be true and valid ministries *for them*.

Before proceeding farther, this question of "validity" needs briefly to be examined. In another connection,⁴ Dr. H. J. Wotherspoon's distinction was noted between "validity" and "lawfulness." This is of primary importance here. The question may fairly be asked: Who knows, save God Himself, whether an ordination, say, or a baptism, or a celebration of the Lord's Supper, is valid? A Roman Catholic priest says Mass; a Congregational minister officiates at the Lord's Supper.

Is there any human being who feels confident enough to say, beyond a shadow of doubt, that all the spiritual imponderables are so surely present in one and absent in the other as to make one certainly "valid" and the other certainly "invalid"? Most certainly the writer of these words would shudder to assume any such responsibility of judgment. We simply do not know, and in the very nature of the case cannot know, whether in the eyes of God either, both, or neither of these religious ceremonies is "valid"—that is, true for the purpose God intends.

The question of "lawfulness," of course, is very easy to answer. One needs only to know whether the legal conditions have been fulfilled, the proper words spoken and the prescribed acts performed, if there be such, by a person duly authorized for that purpose by the ecclesiastical body within which the ministry thus conferred is to be exercised. These conditions having been fulfilled, the ordination, or the baptism, or the celebration of the Lord's Supper is certainly lawful as far as concerns each minister acting in his own Church. With equal certainty it may be said that each Church is perfectly competent to set for itself such standards of lawfulness as it desires. Difficulty arises when the attempt is made to apply to a larger area—a united Christian Church—rules which were meant to apply only to a smaller group—an Anglican Church or a Baptist Church.

Yet this is exactly what needs to be done, if a united Christian Church is ever to become a reality. Or, stated a little more precisely, what needs to be done is to allow each Church to determine for itself what is to be lawful within its own limits, and then to universalize,

not one, but all of these several legalities as far as they apply to the Church Universal. In the Constitution of the United States there is what is known as a "full faith and credit" clause, by which each State is bound to recognize as legal the official actions of competent authority in every other State. It sometimes works badly in matters of detail (as for example in marriage and divorce problems), but on the whole it is both necessary and beneficial in preserving not only the autonomy of each State but good relations among them.

We need some sort of "full faith and credit" clause in ecumenical Christianity.* But we need more than this; we need to go one step beyond the implications of such a clause to the point where the ministry of each Church is recognized as a competent ministry, not only within its own limits, but competent for the Church Universal. The Governor of the State of New York is recognized in the State of Illinois as a rightful governor, in the general meaning of that term, but without authority to function as such in Illinois. In political affairs as they are conducted in the United States no more than this ought to be expected or desired. But in a united Commonwealth of Christian Churches, a minister in the State of Episcopacy needs to be recognized in the State of Congregationalism, not only as a minister in the general sense, but with authority to function as such in that latter "State" as well as in his own. Once make this principle universal, and Christian unity, for all practical purposes, can come about tomorrow. With so much accomplished, the Lord's Supper could

* The analogy, of course, must not be pressed too far. No one seriously proposes a central government over all the Churches, as the Federal Government is, in certain respects, superior to all the states.

be celebrated by any minister in any Christian Church, and its spiritual dynamic would be free to operate in drawing Christian people into every sort of closer unity with one another.

Perhaps it should be said here, as it were parenthetically, that this by no means implies any necessity for uniformity in Church government, nor in ritual, ceremonial, and liturgies nor, beyond a certain irreducible minimum, in doctrine. Each communion might continue to govern itself as it wills—episcopally or presbyterially or congregationally. In ritual, vestments, church architecture, and liturgies there need be no more uniformity than there is today. As regards the Lord's Supper, for example, the intention of every minister to do what Jesus intended to have done—and surely this much can generously be assumed, though precise interpretations differ—would be deemed sufficient to make his administration of the sacrament both lawful and, so far as we can humanly judge, valid. In doctrine—again to refer in particular to the Lord's Supper—each communion might freely teach what it believes to be true about it, retaining as a solvent for the tension of conflicting views the thought expressed in the famous words attributed to Queen Elizabeth.

He blessed the bread and brake it;
And what his word doth make it
That I believe, and take it.

If it be objected that this leaves somewhat vague and nebulous doctrine in general, and the doctrine of the Lord's Supper in particular, the impeachment is admitted. But all that is really forfeited by any Church to the cause of Christian reunion would be the right to

impose its own peculiar doctrine or order upon any other—a “right” which is sub-Christian in its very statement.

If tangible proof is needed that it is in fact the division of opinion over the question of ministries which is at the root of the division of opinion over the Lord's Supper, one needs only to refer to an exchange of views of a few years ago between the late Archbishop Temple, when he was Archbishop of York, and an unnamed friend.⁵ Wrote this anonymous Free Churchman to the Archbishop:

The Holy Table is not yours or mine, it is not Anglican or Presbyterian; it is the Lord's Table; it is he who invites, and his invitation is to all people. Who are you, that you should repel those whom the Lord would welcome? Moreover, you recognize that he offers his grace through non-episcopal ministries. Who are you, that you should refuse to receive his gift through channels that he is willing to own and use?

To this extremely pertinent and relevant query Archbishop Temple replied:

I am sure that in the sacraments of your Church God offers His grace to members of that Church. But sacraments are part of the ordered life of the Church, not devotional acts of individual worshipers. Consequently I cannot come to your Church to receive the gift there (unless the ministrations of my own Church are unavailable)—not because I doubt the reality of that ministry or sacrament, but because the essence of the eucharistic sacrament is our union with Christ in his self-offering to the Father, of which the mode is the breaking of his body as well as the effusion of his blood. I am united with you in the fellowship of his spirit but not, alas, in the unity of his body, which is here the matter of special relevance.

This is singularly unconvincing. Nor is further progress toward unity made in the Archbishop's following explanation of his position, in which he says:

Order equally with faith (is) a matter of principle because as a matter of fact the powers of the kingdom are given to a definite society constituted in a certain way, and *are not given otherwise or elsewhere*.* . . . The course of history might have been different, but as it was not, the past binds the future except as the whole body of the Church shall modify it.

The late Archbishop of Canterbury was reputed a liberal Anglican, and his sincere interest in Christian reunion has received ample demonstration in other connections. Nevertheless, these words have a strangely Catholic ring. If he meant what they seem to mean, it amounts to declaring that the road to unity is a one-way street, and the Lord's Supper a high stile over which none may climb except in an episcopal direction. It is no wonder that the Conference on Faith and Order in Edinburgh in 1937 reported that the obstacles "most difficult to overcome" are those neither of faith alone nor of order alone, but those which "consist of faith and order combined, as when some form of Church government or worship is considered a part of the faith."

Such a declaration on the part of Archbishop Temple seems but a reflection and a rephrasing of the well-known Lambeth statement of 1930, made by the bishops of the whole Anglican communion throughout the world:

* Italics mine—Author.

The will and intention of Christians to perpetuate separately organized Churches makes it inconsistent in principle for them to come before our Lord to be united as one body by the sacrament of his own Body and Blood.

In the same vein is a statement signed a few years ago by about one fourth of the active clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. This was reported by the sober and reliable *New York Times* under the trenchant headline: "Episcopal Priests Oppose Reunion Unless Own Tenets Are Retained."⁶

In the face of statements like these, it is difficult to agree with Dr. William Adams Brown⁷ that even if no progress is possible toward agreement concerning the nature of the ministry, progress is still possible toward agreement regarding the administration of the sacrament.

How is it possible? If even one large and influential section of Christendom holds that only its own ministry and none other can properly celebrate an ecumenical Lord's Supper, and that only those confirmed by a bishop can properly receive it (with few and unimportant exceptions), then the Lord's Supper has become no bridge toward Christian reunion, but a barrier against it. As long as full mutuality in recognition of ministries is denied by part of the Christian world, that part separates itself from the rest. Not only must episcopal orders be recognized by non-episcopal Churches, as they fully and freely are, but non-episcopal orders must receive equal recognition at the hands of episcopally governed Churches. One-way communication is of little use in a two-way world.

Yet the cause of Christian reunion, based upon, or at least including mutual recognition of the necessity of

full intercommunion, is not entirely hopeless. Even beyond the encouraging fact that Christians of different orders can meet, pray, and sing together in good temper and Christian fellowship, there are some tangible evidences of progress.

The South India Plan is still alive—proposing the mutual acceptance without reserve or prejudice of the ministries of the uniting Churches on a complete parity both as to status and function, subject only to the provision that from the date of union and for a period of thirty years thereafter all new candidates shall be episcopally ordained. This suggestion has been accepted all along by Anglicans, Methodists, and the Congregational-Presbyterian South India United Church on the mission field.⁸ Its consummation still awaits approval from the home bases, particularly that of the Anglican missions.

An ambitious plan for a “United Church of England” is receiving preliminary consideration at the hands of a joint conference of Anglicans and Free Churchmen,⁹ and this consideration is going forward despite the war.

Several Protestant groups in France, before the war, actually consummated full and complete union (in 1938), although it must be recognized that the problem there was much less complex, involving no important controversy concerning ministries of the uniting Churches.

Perhaps the step toward unity of greatest interest and significance to American Protestants in our time is the formation, by union of Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches (excepting some small dissident minorities) of the United Church of Canada

in the 1920's. Mutual recognition of ministries presented no insuperable difficulties here, and the Lord's Supper, as a test of the lawfulness and the ecumenical validity of those ministries, proved no barrier, but a bridge.

Here were Christian people who evidently came to realize that most objections to unity among Christians are hardly more than rationalizations of loyalty to the familiar. One hesitates to believe the prospect for an ecumenical Church is so dark that to achieve unity we shall be obliged to abandon what ought to be the greatest sacrament of unity, the Lord's Supper. At the same time, there is a good deal of reason for doing as the Churches in Canada have done—taking the low hurdles first. "It is only those already united in faith who have any motive for seeking to be united in order," as Archbishop Temple has truly said.¹⁰ Perhaps the Free Church Protestant Christians must first unite among themselves, leaving union with the Anglicans—and still more with the Roman Catholics—with their stiffer theology about the ministry, for another generation or another century. Here, among Churches without too rigid doctrines of ministerial order, the Lord's Supper is a bridge. As between those Churches and others holding more uncompromising doctrines of the ministry it is as yet, unfortunately, a barrier.

CHAPTER XI

THE ETHICAL DYNAMIC OF THE LORD'S SUPPER

UP TO THIS POINT, our consideration of the Lord's Supper has been mainly historical. We have looked with some care at its origin in the Upper Room in Jerusalem, where Jesus and his closest friends gathered for a last meal together before he should be parted from them. We have seen how this simple act was perpetuated by repetition among the first Christians as they assembled in groups together in obedience to what they understood to be his command. We have traced the development of a theology about the Lord's Supper, particularly the introduction into it of the perennially recurring religious idea of sacrifice. We have tried to explain its survival against the competition of the contemporary Mystery religions. The gradual relinquishment of the right to celebrate the Lord's Supper into the hands of a priestly class was discussed in Chapter V.

In the following two chapters we traced in broad outline the changes in the ritual and theology of the Lord's Supper at the hands of the Continental Reformers and of the Anglican Churches. We then commented upon the meaning and usage of the sacrament in contemporary Protestantism, and went on to attempt an explanation of its relationships in the movements toward Christian unity. We also gave some attention to

the need, and the possible methods, of creating modern liturgies of the Lord's Supper which should be psychologically sound and spiritually profitable to the people of our liberal Protestant Churches.

It is now time we turned our attention away from the purely historical background to give as careful thought as we can to the question of how the Lord's Supper, as an act of Christian sacramental worship, affects us as Christian people. For in this study our interest is not by any means solely antiquarian or theological, but practical as well. What difference does it make *to* us and *in* us, as Christians, that we have and use the Lord's Supper? It will not do to expend all the limited store of energy and enthusiasm we possess in mere investigation and liturgy-building, even of so important a Christian rite and ceremony as this one. It is needful, above this activity, useful as it is, that we learn to use intelligently and constructively what we have investigated and built.

The remaining chapters of this book, therefore, will have to do with the ethical and spiritual dynamics to be discovered in the Lord's Supper, and with some suggestive ways of preparing for it and using it.

In this present chapter we propose to consider what impulses toward more ethical attitudes and conduct in social relationships may reasonably be expected to derive from our participation, as Christian people, in the Lord's Supper.

Religious worship, of course, has two aims. One is to bring the worshiper into closer personal relationship with God. The other is to inspire him to go away from his act and place of worship with resolution and deter-

mination to live in company with his fellow men a life more in consonance with the social ideals his religion holds. The one aim points inward toward the human soul. The other points outward toward human society. These two aims are not, of course, mutually exclusive, but mutually complementary. At least, they are so over any considerable period of time. Participation in any one act of worship may cause the worshiper to react more strongly in one direction or the other, depending upon any number of variable factors—the man's own mood, the type of religious worship experienced, the particular set of circumstances surrounding him at the moment. But the total impression upon the worshiper of recurring participation in acts of worship ought to build a pattern both of closer fellowship with God and the resolution to maintain better relations with other men and women.

Each of these two aspects of worship, if it has its objectives, has also its dangers, when pursued to the exclusion of the other. The closer-relationship-with-God reaction, if sought in isolation from the other, may sink into a morass of merely contemplative mysticism, having no issuance in any changed social attitudes or conduct. The better-living reaction, alone, may be short-lived and lack staying power, from having no firm rootage in the soil of spiritual reality. From a succession of well-conceived and reverently executed services of worship, the Christian participant should go forth with "a warm glow about his heart" testifying to a renewed sense of kinship to God, and no less with a stiffened resolution of mind and will to act in more brotherly ways toward other men and women.

If this is true of Christian worship in general, it

ought to be true of the Lord's Supper in particular. This act of worship, as we have seen, has the sanction of Jesus' own institution as no other service of worship has.* All our other "preaching services" in Protestantism are in a large degree derivative rather than original—derived from this simplest and most venerable of Christian rites.

In the next chapter we shall consider the spiritual dynamic of the Lord's Supper under the five headings commemoration, thanksgiving, sacrifice, fellowship, and mystery. Each of these has its corporate as well as its individual applications. But among them the concept of *fellowship* is the one which possesses the most powerful ethical dynamic for human living in social relationships.

Reference to the custom, in recent years, of observing an annual "World-Wide Communion Sunday" may help to illustrate more explicitly this ethical dynamic of fellowship in the Lord's Supper. As is well known, the plan is to have every Christian congregation, the whole world around, observe on the same Sunday the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, each after its own manner and custom. One needs only the most rudimentary imagination to see how vast is the Christian fellowship here concerned.

"How wide a fellowship it is! It looks *backward*, and brings us into fellowship with the long line of believers which began at the first simple observance in the Upper Room. (It has been) handed on to a faithful company—to the early Fathers of the Church, to the writers

* Baptism, the other sacrament which Jesus probably commanded, though he seems never to have performed it personally, is not, strictly, a service of corporate worship.

of Christian literature of the ages, to the great poets, to the Reformers—Luther and Calvin and Knox—to statesmen and rulers who have gathered about this Table all down the centuries, to those who have been dear to us in our own lives. . . . How that line reaches back, bringing us into fellowship with the past!

“And the fellowship reaches far *outward* in the present. What languages, what colors, what practices, what ranges of people are members of this group of guests! This is the most widespread religious observance in the world. Every great Christian Church, with the barest exceptions, treasures this Table as its own, with one Host, Jesus Christ. Here we forget our differences, remembering only Him and the wide brotherhood into which He brings us. At this Table we shall be in fellowship with our brethren around the world and across all barriers.

“And the fellowship reaches *forward*. Let us rejoice in the assurance that after we and all who partake with us have gone on into the Presence, others will be coming on as guests—those who are little children now, even those not yet born—these also shall sit at this Table. There have been anxious times in the past, but nothing has ended this celebration of the love and sacrifice of Christ, and nothing in the present or the future will end it. Here we join the oncoming hosts of Christ, looking forward to His victory and glory. How bravely we ought to walk as we enter such a fellowship!”¹

Fellowship is the key word in the ethical dynamic of the Lord's Supper. It would far exceed the permissible limits of this chapter, and even of this book, to attempt anything like even a cursory survey of the fields of

human relationship into which the Christian concept of fellowship desperately needs to be injected. But we may briefly mention two or three, as typical of many more.

Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick somewhere says that "the major iniquities of our time are connected with money-making." The economic system of our age, practically the world over, is a flagrant denial of the Christian ideals of brotherhood and fellowship. There are those who appear to believe that it will only be necessary to divide up all the world's wealth equally among all its inhabitants in order to bring about the economic millennium. It requires only a little sober reflection to see that this is not necessarily true. Nor need one be a professed socialist or communist to perceive the "major iniquity" of permitting fewer than 100 American families to control a preponderant proportion of the nation's tangible wealth and resources. The shocking disparity between the extremes of wealth and poverty, existing in our economic order, are a flat contradiction of the Christian doctrine of brotherhood. The fellowship we profess at the Lord's Table is scorned daily in the marketplace.

A second "sore spot" in our contemporary civilization is the denial of equal privileges to large numbers of human beings because of their race or their color. The democratic world rightly stands aghast at the inhuman and bestial treatment of the Jews in Germany and the lands Germany has conquered, notably in Poland. But we need try to speak for no one but ourselves here in the United States in saying that before we can come into court with clean hands to try Hitler for his treatment of the Jews, we need to set our own

house in order as regards our treatment of the Negroes.

Almost numberless instances could be cited. In Chicago, for example, an extremely able candidate for public office was only a year or two ago overwhelmingly defeated because he touched the pocket-book nerve and the race-prejudice nerve of his constituents by attacking the system of restrictive covenants among property-owners by which Negroes are kept within a "ghetto" consisting largely of deteriorated housing for which they are charged exorbitant rents.

In a Southern State, a gentle, cultured, educated Negro woman, a Y.W.C.A. secretary, was left in a dying condition by the side of the road following an automobile accident. No white motorist would take her to a hospital until it was too late. While we profess to be fighting abroad for democracy and the "Four Freedoms," Negroes are denied democracy and any genuine freedom at home by refusal of the full right of suffrage, the right to work, except under restricted conditions, even the right to serve in the armed forces except in menial capacities or in company with others of their own race. And the list of righteous grievances could be extended indefinitely—other grievances of the Negro race, and grievances of other colored races among us. We have not yet learned to practise with other races the fellowship we profess at the Lord's Table.

Had Dr. Fosdick been writing in war time the sentence just quoted, he would probably have put war instead of money-making as the chief "major iniquity." For certainly nothing is so complete and absolute a denial of human brotherhood and fellowship as war.

The Christian doctrine of fellowship rests upon the basic Christian conviction that every human soul is

precious—and equally precious—in the sight of God. War denies the right of the human being to continue even to exist, if his physical existence stands in the way of nationalistic aims. One need not be a pacifist to recognize that war demands of Christians, as well as of others, that Christian teachings of good will be laid aside until the objectives for which the nation is contending are attained. Many sincere Christians are reluctantly persuaded that this must be done, all things considered. Others are not, and are going willingly to prison or to Civilian Public Service camps rather than to put the will of the State above what seems to them the will of God. We need not argue here the case for or against pacifism in order to point out that war and Christian fellowship are contradictory in all their implications. The ethic of fellowship present at the Lord's Table is absent on the field of battle.

But economic injustice, race prejudice, war, and all other human iniquities cannot ultimately discourage the Christian, holding fast to his faith in God. Humanity is young yet, and "a thousand years in the sight of God are but as a watch in the night." God has all eternity in which to work out His purposes. He puts within man's reach all the spiritual aids he needs, if he will but grasp and use them, to make a world of fellowship and brotherhood. Not alone among these aids—but not the least among them, either—is Christian worship. And among the resources of Christian worship perhaps the most powerfully effective, at least potentially, is this sacrament of the Lord's Supper, if we will but understand and employ it in all its ethical and spiritual implications toward the Christian ideal of fellowship.

Archbishop Temple² has well said, "The proof that

we have received the Real Presence is the increase of love in our daily lives. . . . If a man goes out from his Communion to love and serve men better he has received the Real Presence. If he feels every thrill and tremor of devotion, but goes out as selfish as before, he has not received it. It was offered, but he did not receive it."

Neither this nor any other single service of worship is an act of magic which can be expected, under ordinary circumstances and with ordinary people, to work an instantaneous miracle of ethical or moral healing. That it happens at all—and sometimes it does happen—is a tribute to the extraordinary grace of God as it touches human life. But a warning is in order to any who would expect too much too soon and too often. We are not, ordinarily, wholly different persons when we leave the Church after joining in corporate worship at the Lord's Table than we were when we entered it. But, although we may not be *wholly* different persons as a result of this significant act of communion and fellowship, we ought to be, after every such act, at least *somewhat* different persons. Every act of Christian worship, and particularly this one, ought to be a new reinforcement to the gradually growing ethical structure of personal and corporate Christian living.

CHAPTER XII

THE SPIRITUAL DYNAMIC OF THE LORD'S SUPPER

BISHOP CHARLES GORE once observed with deep insight that a spiritual gift under material conditions is not unworthy of God.¹ For, in the New Testament sense, the spiritual means not something separated from the material or the bodily, but something which—often actually in and by means of the material or the bodily—expresses a spiritual meaning.

Such a gift we assuredly have in the Lord's Supper. What Robert Will² says about worship in general is even more manifestly true of this great Christian sacrament, for in it "two currents of life meet, one proceeding from the transcendent Reality (God), the other flowing from the religious life of the subject; one descending, the other ascending; . . . the first sacramental, the second sacrificial." Far more meaning inheres in the Lord's Supper than can be brought out by the study of its historical development or the analysis of any number of liturgies. As the concept of a nation includes something more than simply a census of the number of its inhabitants, as a man is more than the physiochemical elements which compose his physical body, so the Lord's Supper is more than the audible words, the visible acts, and the tangible elements by

which it is outwardly constituted. What Evelyn Underhill³ says of sacramentalism in general may with equal truth be said of the Lord's Supper in particular: "It has something to give the most naïve of primitives; its possibilities have never been exhausted by the most supernaturalized of saints. . . . No other rite could so well embody . . . the universal divine action, and the ultimate divine approach to every soul; the food of daily life, and the mystery of eternal power, both given at once. . . . Here the most naïve worshiper finds an invitation to love and gratitude, and a focus for his devotion; and the contemplative finds a door which opens upon the ineffable mystery of God. Those deep levels of our being which live unchanged under the flow of outward life, and of which we sometimes become aware—those levels where we thirst for God and apprehend Him, and know our truest selves to consist in a certain kinship with Him—these levels are reached and stirred by . . . the Eucharist."

Yngve Brilioth, in his really great book,⁴ to which we have frequently turned during this study, makes a penetrating analysis of the spiritual meaning of the Lord's Supper into five elements. They are:⁵

1. Commemoration or Memorial
2. Thanksgiving
3. Fellowship and Communion
4. Sacrifice
5. Mystery

It is interesting to compare this analysis with that made by Miss Underhill in the work just cited.⁶ Brilioth's approach is primarily historical; Miss Underhill's is basically spiritual, even mystical. Yet she notes her

dependence upon the former writer in her own not very different analysis into six components:

1. Adoration and thanksgiving
2. The historical elements
3. The oblation and hallowing
of the bread and wine
4. The supplication of the Church
5. The mystery of the Divine Presence
6. "Food of Eternal Life"

"The heart of the service," says Duchesne,⁷ "its 'Christian and original element,' consists of only three phases: the offering of the Eucharistic prayer, the breaking of the bread, the distribution of the communion." Yet certainly the five qualities of the Lord's Supper which guide Brilioth's description of it are actually present in these three.

In every service of worship in which the Lord's Supper is celebrated, therefore, these five elements should be present. One or another may be emphasized, of course, more than the others, just as in history different Churches and different religious leaders have laid more stress upon one or another of them—sometimes so much more stress that one value seemed to overshadow all the others. Which one is emphasized at any given celebration may depend upon the worshiper, upon what the minister says in his sermon or meditation, upon the occasion, or the season of the Church year, upon the choice of accompanying music, or upon some other factors. It may be any one of these things, or any combination of them, which determines whether the Lord's Supper that day is to the worshiper principally an act of commemoration, or of thanksgiving, or of fellowship, or of sacrifice, or of mystery. In the next few

pages, let us examine briefly the devotional significance of each of these qualities inherent in the sacrament.

1. COMMEMORATION

The Lord's Supper is most obviously, of course, a commemoration or memorial of Jesus' last supper with his disciples. In imagination we go back into the upper room in Jerusalem. We see him taking a towel, as the Fourth Gospel tells us, and teaching humility by washing the disciples' feet. We see Judas Iscariot slip furtively out of the room to prepare to betray his Lord. We read the Fourth Gospel's account of Jesus' marvelous farewell discourses to the group of disciples, and of the sad prophetic words spoken by him after he had distributed to them the bread and wine: "I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in my Father's kingdom." And most vividly of all we picture the Lord doing as the minister, following his command, does in Church—blessing and distributing to his followers simple food and drink, in the ceremony which bound them and binds all Christian people in ties of memory to Christ for ever. "Do this, in remembrance of me."

If it be asked why a periodic act of commemoration is needful, why it is not sufficient simply and reverently to recall to memory from time to time the story of the Institution, to brood and meditate upon it, it may be replied as does Bishop Butler, whom Macgregor⁸ quotes: "External acts of piety and devotion, and frequent returns of them, are necessary to keep up a sense of religion which the affairs of the world will otherwise wear out of men's hearts."

2. THANKSGIVING

As early as the second century, as we have seen, "Eucharist," which comes from the Greek word for "thanksgiving," was a name very generally used to describe the Lord's Supper. There is in the service of the Communion an element of thanksgiving, not only for creation and natural gifts, but for the joy of the new knowledge of God which Christ brings to us.

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts!
Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory.
Glory be to Thee, O Lord Most High! ⁹

So runs the hymn which we find in almost all communion services of all the Churches, a paean of praise and joy and thanksgiving to God. In many of the most ancient liturgies we find, also, words like these: "We most heartily thank thee for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us . . . with the spiritual food . . . of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, and dost assure us thereby of thy favor and goodness toward us." ¹⁰ The Lord's Supper has at its very center the thought of thanksgiving to God for the gift to the world of His Son, and for the world's salvation through his life and works.

In many Churches an additional offering is made by the people at the time of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and the money received is devoted to benevolences. This is not merely a device for raising a little extra money, but an act profoundly in the spirit of the sacrament itself, an act by which we confess in practical manner our gratitude to God for the blessings He bestows upon us daily.

With whatever other feelings and emotions we ap-

proach the Table of the Lord, with whatever spiritual values in our hearts we leave that Table, the thought of thanksgiving, and the expression of it in acts, ought never to be absent.

This aspect of thanksgiving in the Eucharist goes back to the New Testament accounts of its origin.¹¹ Indeed, Dr. Frank Gavin¹² thinks it goes back even beyond that, and is strongly reminiscent of the Jewish *Berakha*, a prayer of thanksgiving offered on many ceremonial occasions. Be that as it may, the element of thanksgiving has never been absent from any liturgy with any pretensions to completeness. The "Gloria in Excelsis"—that great hymn of praise and thanksgiving beginning "Glory be to God on high" finds a place in the celebration of the Lord's Supper from very early times, and a prayer of thanksgiving after the communion of the people is a feature of most liturgies, both ancient and modern.

If worship is, as Ignatius wrote, "a contemplation to procure the love of God," then surely, with that love once "procured," a profound sense of thanksgiving ought to follow.

3. FELLOWSHIP

The thought of fellowship, as the Lord's Supper teaches it, has two sides—communion with God and communion with our Christian friends and brothers. It is this second aspect of fellowship in the Lord's Supper which Protestant Churches have perhaps most often and most strongly emphasized. It is indeed a beautiful thing. We gave some thought to it in the last chapter from the ethical side; let us now return to it from the spiritual and devotional point of view.

Everywhere else in life we find distinctions of wealth, of rank, of birth, of race. Some men are generals or presidents or managers or bosses; others are privates or employees or clerks or laborers. Some women drive in limousines, wear expensive furs and have great houses with many servants; others ride in street cars, wear thin and worn clothing, and live in tenements.

These wide differences are un-Christian, and they ought to be changed, as we said in the last chapter. Yet, even while they exist, it is still true to say that when any two of these men or any two of these women come before an altar of the Christian Church in the Lord's Supper, each is at that moment the exact equal, in God's sight, of the other. Even man's limited spiritual vision recognizes this truth. One recalls seeing a major-general and a private soldier kneeling side by side at an altar rail in a Church near a war cantonment in 1918. (The author vouches for the authenticity of the incident; he was the private!) Probably nowhere else in the world, in those days, could that have happened, save in a Church. No human distinctions can survive the leveling spirit of the Lord's Supper.

This sacramental fellowship lifts up our fellowship and unity with other Christians into a fellowship and unity with God. Nowhere do we realize more clearly than at the Lord's Supper that, as St. Paul puts it in the twelfth chapter of his first letter to the Church at Corinth, we are not only "severally members one of another," but together we are "the body of Christ." The Lord's Supper is the supreme symbol and sacrament of Christian fellowship, unity, and communion.

From the beginning, this fellowship of Christians existed in and through the Lord's Supper. "*Koinonía*"

was the Greek word for it. Above everything else, it shows the essentially social nature of the rite. One cannot celebrate the Lord's Supper in solitude and even begin to apprehend its full meaning—if, indeed, a solitary celebration were permissible under the rules of any Church. As Bishop Gore¹³ says, "The sacraments, which are means of personal grace, are also social ceremonies; ceremonies only possible among members of a society. . . . It is a communion, a common sharing. Its intimate association . . . with the fraternal meal (the Agape) . . . kept alive its social meaning. It was the sacrament of fraternity." The Lord's Supper, thus possessing both personal and social aspects, meets the test of corporate worship which Evelyn Underhill¹⁴ proposes—that "corporate and personal worship should complete, reinforce, and check each other."

The outward symbol of this fellowship aspect of the Lord's Supper has always been, of course, the communion of the people. The Last Supper in the Upper Room would have been meaningless—or at least it would have had a wholly different set of meanings—had not Jesus shared the bread and cup with the disciples. The mediæval Church erred very gravely, as the Roman Catholic Church errs today, in allowing this element of fellowship, as represented by the actual act of communion on the part of the people, to fall into disuse. In permitting the sacrificial aspect of the Lord's Supper—perfectly valid in itself, so far as it goes—so completely to overshadow the quality of fellowship, Catholic-minded Christians (in the narrower meaning of that term) have seriously detracted from its spiritual significance. We owe no greater debt to the Reformers than our deep obligation to them for restoring to this

sacrament its neglected aspect of fellowship, as expressed in the distribution among the worshipping congregation of the symbolic elements.

4. SACRIFICE

Sacrifice is an idea common to nearly all religions. Sometimes the idea is extremely crudely interpreted, sometimes even cruelly so. Christianity itself has not always been free from crude interpretations of the idea of sacrifice. For Christians of our time and mind, however, when we sit at our Lord's Table in communion with him, one meaning of the word "sacrifice" is uppermost in our minds. It is the thought that on a lonely hill-top in far-off Judea, almost two thousand years ago, the greatest soul the world has ever known, Christ Jesus, freely gave up his life that in the ages after him men might better know God and better serve their fellow men.

The Lord's Supper, therefore, represents and forever reminds us of that one great sacrifice of Christ on Calvary. In our worship around the Lord's Table we strive, for our own parts, to offer our sacrifices to God in two ways. In the first place, we use bread and wine, as Jesus did—the simplest forms of the food and drink which we need to keep our bodies living. As we obey the command, "Do this in remembrance of me," we take this bread and wine from our common stores, set them apart by prayer and blessing for this sacred use alone, and offer them to God at the communion table. Thus they represent and symbolize all our human material possessions, from the least to the greatest—a worthy sacrifice to Him "from whom all blessings flow."

But there is an even deeper interpretation of sacri-

fice present in the Lord's Supper. Jesus said of the bread and wine as he blessed and distributed them to the disciples at the first Lord's Supper, that they were his body and blood. The very next day the tragic meaning of his words appeared, for his body was literally broken and his blood shed upon the cross.

This makes us realize, if anything can, that at the communion table we must offer to God not only our material possessions but ourselves—our own body and blood, so to speak—as a sacrifice to Him. We cannot, after all, offer to God any *thing* which would have for Him any value. Does not the Psalmist represent God as saying:

For every beast of the forest is mine,
And the cattle upon a thousand hills.

I know all the birds of the mountains;
And the wild beasts of the field are mine.

If I were hungry, I would not tell thee;
For the world is mine, and the fulness thereof.¹⁵

It is a truth which only a few of the very greatest religious spirits of Old Testament times ever saw—the prophet Micah was one of them—that there is only one sacrifice which we can really give to God, and that is the sacrifice of ourselves. As Micah wrote, nearly 2,500 years ago:

Wherewith shall I come before Jehovah, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves a year old?

Will Jehovah be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?

He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth Jehovah require of thee, but to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God? ¹⁶

Taught therefore by Christ, who gave himself so completely, the Christian ought to offer from the very depths of his soul the prayer, "Here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto Thee. . . ." ¹⁷ That, really, is the sacrifice we offer to God in the Lord's Supper—the complete and full rededication of our whole lives to Him in the sacrament of sacrifice.

5. MYSTERY

Here we tread softly, for we are on holy ground. When we approach the Table of the Lord with minds prepared to receive what God has to give us, we feel rather than know that in some way not easily or wholly to be explained, God is there awaiting us. We think of the legend of Moses in the desert, where he saw the bush burning without being consumed, and heard the voice which said, "Draw not nigh hither; put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." ¹⁸

We Protestants cannot believe that God is there in any material way, or that anything magical has been done to make the bread and wine themselves anything they were not before the communion service began. Yet we can believe—many of us would say we cannot help but believe—that there is a Real Presence of God at the Lord's Supper, to be felt and known by the worshiper who approaches that Table with his heart open to spiritual realities.

"I believe that if our eyes were open to the unseen, we should indeed behold our Lord present at our communions. There and then, assuredly, if anywhere and at any time, He remembers His promise, 'Where two or

three are gathered together in My Name there am I in the midst of them.' Such special presence, the promised congregational presence, is perfectly mysterious in mode but absolutely true in fact; no creation of our imagination or emotion but an object for our faith. I believe that our Lord so present, not *on* the Holy Table, but *at* it, would be seen Himself in our presence to bless the bread and wine for a holy use, and to distribute them to His disciples. . . . I believe that we should worship Him, thus present in the midst of us in His living grace, with unspeakable reverence, thanksgiving, joy, and love. We should receive the bread and wine with a profound sense of their sacredness as given by Him in physical assurance of our part, as believers in Him and so as members of Him, in all the benefits of His passion." These words of Bishop Moule of Durham,¹⁹ spoken a generation ago, we may well make our own as we approach the Lord's Table.

The spiritual use of the sacrament need not wait upon exact or complete knowledge and understanding concerning it.

Sometimes we demand too many answers of life and of our religion. We insist upon knowing it all, and all at once. Neither life nor religion is built that way. For each new mile of knowledge we gain, two more miles open up before us of knowledge yet to be learned. Life and religion alike are always needing to leave room for the "mysterium tremendum"—the tremendous mystery which stretches, and will always stretch, between what in any given age we know and the ultimate boundaries of the wisdom yet hidden in the mind of God. No matter how greatly science enlarges our knowledge, there will never come a time when we shall not need to

make room for what Joseph Fort Newton called "the eternal mysticism by which man lives."

We have found in the Lord's Supper, then, the mingled joy and sadness of remembering Jesus and his disciples at what was for them their last supper together, in the upper room in Jerusalem. We have seen in it opportunity for thanksgiving. We have been reminded that by it Christians are linked together in new ties of brotherly fellowship with one another, and a new bond of communion with God. We have learned that here we offer as a sacrifice, no less than Jesus himself did, "ourselves, our souls and bodies." And finally we have here found mystery—the thought of the personal presence of the Saviour in the midst, as reverently we receive him into our lives.

CHAPTER XIII

A PERSONAL PREPARATION FOR COMMUNION

IF THE LORD'S SUPPER is so sacred and deeply spiritual an observance as throughout these pages we have tried to insist it is, then surely we ought not to approach it lightly or casually. There ought to be on the part both of the minister and of the people a careful and reverent preparation for this great act of communion with our Lord.

In the Churches of the Catholic tradition, the first of these—the minister's preparation—is almost automatic. A service has already been worked out for him to follow, full of the most beautiful language of devotion—dignified, reverent, impressive. He is directed to wear regular vestments, arrange his altar in prescribed ways, use certain words and even gestures. The result is the creation of an atmosphere in which it is difficult for the celebrant *not* to be reverent and devout.

For the Free Church Protestant minister the creation of such an atmosphere is not so easy. He has, usually, no missal or prayer book upon which to depend. He must to a greater or less extent make his own liturgy, drawing it from such sources as seem to him spiritually profitable. He must somehow perfume the air of worship with the incense of true devotion, and by the set-

ting with which he surrounds his service lift the hearts of the congregation toward the very throne of God.

On the part of the worshiper, the need of spiritual preparation is no less urgent. Certainly we ought to take with full seriousness St. Paul's warning about "unworthily" partaking of the Lord's Supper. He does not mean, of course, that we must be saints already made perfect before we may rightly come to the Holy Table. He does mean that we must come to it with at least three thoughts uppermost in our minds—repentance for the wrongs we have done, love and forgiveness toward our fellow men, and the intention from that hour to lead a new life and a better one, following God's will and commandments.

The devout Roman Catholic meets the first test—the need for repentance—by making his confession to a priest and receiving absolution. We have no such fixed custom, but the need of confession is no less urgent upon us on that account. Though we do not feel obligated to confess to any human being, yet we may and should confess to God, in the privacy of our own devotions, no less completely and no less sincerely, before we presume to eat of that Bread or drink of that Cup.

Each one of us will want to follow the dictates of his own mind and soul in the way he accomplishes such an act of repentance, such a resolution of love and charity, such an affirmation of intention to lead a new life. What follows is merely suggestive. If we have never before tried to do anything so definite in preparation for our Communion, perhaps it will help us to do it at first in some such way as this. Afterward, we shall doubtless want to find and develop our own methods of personal preparation, using other portions of our Bibles, adding

other books of devotion, other hymns and prayers—in short, anything that will help to make our preparation and our worship real and vital to us.

Such a spiritual preparation may be made in our own homes the evening before we are to go to the Lord's Supper in Church. Some Churches successfully arrange services of preparation for the Saturday evenings before the Sundays on which the Lord's Supper is to be celebrated. Or, it may be made by going earlier than usual to the Church, where in the atmosphere of peace and quiet which pervades the sanctuary before worship begins, we may put ourselves in a state of mind in which we can appreciate and absorb the help the service has for us. (Surely every minister should see to it that at least on Sundays when there is to be a Communion service such an atmosphere exists). But whenever and wherever we do make our preparation for the Lord's Supper, it ought not to be simply a vague, general kind of wishful thinking, but a very definite, concrete spiritual exercise.

(1)

Here are suggested several ways which may help us to make that confession of our sins and shortcomings which will cleanse and purify our minds from extraneous things, so that we may better enter into so great a service of worship, and more worthily be partakers of the Lord's Supper.

AN ACT OF REPENTANCE

Turn in the Bible to the 20th chapter of Exodus. Slowly and very thoughtfully, read each commandment. After reading each one stop and think whether we have

done anything which would violate the spirit of that commandment. Ask God's forgiveness for it, if we find we have. Then say something like this: "Lord, have mercy upon me, and incline my heart from this day to keep this law."

It is true, of course, that the Commandments are pre-Christian, and that they were given in an age and to a people far different from ours. It is also true that they are put in negative rather than in positive form—"Thou shalt not" rather than "Thou shalt." There are some phrases in them which do not apply exactly in today's methods of living. Yet even when all this has been said, it is to be remembered that Jesus found them valid enough to summarize them into his own Two Great Commandments, and even in their older form they may still be used for the purpose of such a service as this sort of self-examination.

For some who may prefer it, however, the suggestion is made of

A SHORTER FORM OF AN ACT OF REPENTANCE

Turn in the Bible to the 22nd chapter of Matthew. Begin at verse 37, and in the same manner as suggested above for the Ten Commandments read:

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul." Then say something like this: "I have failed, O God, to give Thee the love of my heart and soul in failing to Pardon that failing, and help me to amendment by doing"

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy mind." Then say, "I have doubted Thee, O God, by Forgive my doubt, and restore my faith in Thee."

“Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.” Then remind yourself of social neglects by saying something of this nature: “O Lord, I have not rightly loved my neighbor, for I have Help me from this day to extend the hand of Christian helpfulness to all in need of anything I can give, especially to ”

(2)

Not only do we need to repent of our errors, but we need to be “in love and charity with all men.” Here is suggested one way in which we can continue our preparation toward this end:

AN ACT OF LOVE AND CHARITY

Turn in the Bible to First Corinthians, chapter 13. As we read each separate phrase, from verses 4 through 7, in which St. Paul describes the ways in which perfect love expresses itself, pause in the reading long enough to apply each precept to ourselves, thus:

“Love suffereth long.” So help me, Lord, to endure such hardship and suffering as fall to my lot, especially in the matter of

“Love is kind.” So help me, Lord, to be kind to
.....

“Love envieth not.” So help me, Lord, not to be envious of

“Love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up.” So help me, Lord, not to be egotistic in my conduct toward

“Love doth not behave itself unseemly.” So help me, Lord, not to be unmannerly in conduct toward
.....

"Love seeketh not her own." So help me, Lord, not to be selfish in the matter of

"Love is not provoked, taketh not account of evil." So help me, Lord, not to be irritable, or vindictive, even when I am tempted to do so by

"Love rejoiceth not in unrighteousness, but rejoiceth with the truth." So help me, Lord, to take the side of the hard right against the easy wrong in the case of

"Love beareth all things." So help me, Lord, to bear with patience

"Love believeth all things." So help me, Lord, to keep faith with Thee and in Thee, with my fellow men and in them, even when

"Love hopeth all things." So help me, Lord, to be constant in hope for

(3)

Finally, before we are fully prepared to approach the Lord's Table, we need to turn our minds toward an intention to "lead a new life, following the commandments of God and walking from henceforth in His holy ways."

Following is one suggestive use of the "whole armor of God" passage in the sixth chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians, verses 10 to 17:

AN ACT OF CONSECRATION TO A NEW LIFE

Finally, be strong in the Lord, and in the strength of his might. Put on the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the worldrulers of this darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places.

Wherefore take up the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand.

“Stand, therefore, having girded your loins with truth.” Help me, O God, to know and follow the truth as Thou hast revealed it.

“Having put on the breastplate of righteousness.” Help me, O God, to walk in the ways of righteousness toward Thee and my fellow men.

“Having shod your feet with the preparation of the gospel of peace.” Help me, O God, to seek peace among men, beginning with

“Taking the shield of faith.” Give me, O God, this shield against all temptation to wrongdoing, this support of trust in Thee in all difficult times.

“Take the helmet of salvation.” Help me, O God, always to unite myself in spirit with Thee.

“. . . and the sword of the Spirit.” Let me use no weapon, O God, unworthy of Thy purposes.

(4)

As a final act of spiritual preparation, summarizing and drawing together all the others, we may say this prayer, or some other like it, or we may make a prayer in our own words to the same general effect:

O Almighty God, Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, whose blessed memorial sacrament we celebrate in Christian fellowship *this day*, we do truly and earnestly repent us of our sins; we strive to be in love and charity with our neighbors; by Thy help we intend to lead a new life, following Thy commandments and walking from henceforth in Thy holy ways.

To this Holy Table we draw near with faith. Because Thy nature is always to have mercy and to forgive, grant us,

gracious Lord, clean hearts and pure minds, that we may see and know Thee as Thou art. Reveal Thy will for us, we beseech Thee, in this sacred hour, and grant us strength to fulfill it.

Sanctify, O Father, both our coming in and our going out; and grant that though we leave Thy house we may not go from Thy presence, but be Thou ever near us and keep us near to Thee.

Now, if we have faithfully and prayerfully carried out this personal preparation for Communion, or some other like it; we are more nearly ready actually to take part in this great service of worship. We are ready to turn our minds back to find a commemoration of Jesus' last supper in the upper room, to offer our praises and thanksgivings, to experience the fellowship and communion of those who worship with us and with God, to rededicate ourselves to Christ as he offered his life as a sacrifice for the world's good, to feel the sense of awe and mystery as spiritually we meet there the Lord and Saviour of us all. In a spirit of humble reverence and holy joy we shall, as our understanding and appreciation of the meaning of the Lord's Supper grow, feel more intimately the nearness of Jesus' presence as we hear and again obey his words, "Do this, in remembrance of me."

CHAPTER XIV

THE PRIVATE CELEBRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER

THE PRIVATE ADMINISTRATION of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to people in their homes or in small family groups is one of the greatest privileges and opportunities of a minister's pastoral work. When the minister enters the home or the presence of a family for this purpose, an atmosphere is established in which the exchange of spiritual confidence is perhaps more natural and spontaneous than at any other time. The wise minister, therefore, will not neglect to inform and to remind his people of the fitting occasions for private communion.

Those most usual would be, of course, chronic invalidism or other prolonged illness, and unavoidable absence from church at such great seasons of the Christian year as Easter and Christmas. To these may well be added, as another occasion suitable for the private celebration of the Lord's Supper, a time shortly before a member of the family is going to a hospital for an operation, particularly if the operation threatens to be a serious one. Still other proper occasions will be suggested later in this chapter.

PRIVATE COMMUNION FOR THE SICK

A proper sense of the fitness of things suggests certain general rules to be observed in the preparation for

and the conduct of a celebration of the Lord's Supper in the home of a sick or shut-in person or a chronic invalid.

In the first place, certain advance preparations should have been made. The person principally concerned, to the extent that he is able to do so, should have been requested to make his own spiritual preparation by reading of the Bible and by prayer, using for this purpose either favorite Scripture passages of his own or some suggested by the Minister, and following the same course concerning prayers.

The time should be set, and accurately observed. It should be arranged in advance that in a suitable place in the home a table should be placed, with a plain white cloth spread upon it. In the case of a sick person, if the patient is bed-ridden the service must, of course, take place in the sick-room. Otherwise, a cheerful spot in the family's living room is preferable.

Entering the house, the minister will do well to remember that this is not a social call or even an ordinary pastoral visit. Beyond the exchange of friendly greetings, casual conversation and small talk may wisely be dispensed with. Let the minister quietly and deftly at once set about his preparation for the service. And, it may here be added, let him depart after the service is over in the same quiet dignity, and rather promptly, unless the family is evidently moved by the occasion to discuss with him matter of serious nature. Let the social call, and even the conversation about parish matters, be postponed to some other time.

The private communion set and appointments may be as simple or as elaborate as the minister (or the Church) possesses and thinks fitting. It may consist of

nothing but the small paten and glasses, or it may include a small cross and candlesticks to be placed upon the table. The minister may even have a suitable white linen cloth, with a bit of Christian symbolism embroidered or appliqued on it. The bread and grape juice he should, of course, bring with him. It is better that he should not wear a gown, even though it may be his habit to do so in Church, on the ground that it is hardly congruous with the more informal setting of a private home and the circumstances of illness.

The service of private communion itself should always be brief. There need to be within it, too, some elements of flexibility, for in the presence of a very sick person, eight to ten minutes is as long as the patient can be expected to concentrate, while in other cases fifteen minutes is not too long. Scripture, prayer, the blessing and distribution of the elements—these are the essentials. Needless to say, there should be no sermon or homily.

It would be most helpful to be able to put into the hands of each of those present a little pamphlet or booklet containing the form of service used, that they may follow it with greater concentration and attention, and by joining in certain portions, to make of the service a true act of corporate worship. Copies of this booklet might well be sent in advance to the patient and to those who expect to be present, that they may read it and familiarize themselves with it before the minister comes.

When more than perhaps three persons are to be present, it is fitting that one of the deacons of the Church should be there also, that he may distribute the elements to the people after whatever manner is cus-

tomary in that parish church. Since in many churches some of the deacons are older and retired men, this should often be possible. On most such occasions, it is also desirable to include among those receiving communion all members of the household who are members of the Church, thus increasing the sense of family solidarity in this act of worship.

Most of what has been written is equally applicable, with some obvious modifications, to the private celebration of the Lord's Supper for a sick person in a hospital room or ward.

COMMUNION FOR THE DYING

The question will certainly arise, in the minds of many ministers and Church people, as to the use of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with or in the presence of the dying.

Certainly we Free Churchmen do not hold anything resembling the traditional Roman Catholic view that to have received a Last Sacrament before death is a practical necessity for assuring or even hastening the entrance of the human soul into Heaven. We believe that every soul goes hence into the presence of God, there to receive God's judgment—in God's own good time—precisely on its own merits, and quite regardless of whether or not its farewell to the flesh was accompanied by any ritual act on the part of the Church. So believing, we have ordinarily shied away from the use with the dying of anything that might be construed as a Last Sacrament in the Roman Catholic sense. The family of a dying person hesitates to request it, and the minister is reluctant to suggest it.

Perhaps we ought to reexamine our customary pro-

cedure at this point. It should be possible to present to our people the idea that the act of communion for the dying is a seemly and fitting thing—not at all a magical passport to Heaven but a tender and loving farewell to the associations of earth. So understood and used, the private celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the affectionate intimacy of the family circle might well be of the greatest possible comfort to them, and a source of spiritual strength for the ordeal in prospect.

There is, however, one absolutely essential qualification, if we are to preserve the distinction just mentioned between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant view of a Last Sacrament. It is this: *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is completely inappropriate in these circumstances unless the dying person is fully conscious, and aware of what is taking place* (though not necessarily of the reason for its being done at that particular time). Any minister of long pastoral experience, holding the view of the Sacrament here explained, would nearly always considerably but firmly advise against the conduct of such a service for an unconscious patient, or one delirious, or one stupefied by drugs. He would point out that to force a bit of bread and a few drops of grape juice between the lips of a patient not in possession of the faculties to apprehend what is being done makes of it an act of spiritual legerdemain, not an act of conscious communion. Barely possibly he might permit himself to be overruled if he knows the family to be of Roman Catholic or Episcopal or Lutheran background, and senses that it might be helpful or comforting to *them*. But surely, in general, the principle ought to be maintained among us of the Free Churches that a

private communion, even for the dying, ought to be a *communion* in which all those present participate.

PRIVATE COMMUNION AT CHURCH

The use of the privately celebrated Sacrament of the Lord's Supper need not be confined to the home or hospital, nor to occasions of illness, invalidism, or involuntary absence from public worship on the Church's great feast days. It may appropriately take place sometimes at the Church, and for other reasons than these.

One occasion of this character is before a wedding, the participants being the bride and groom, their families, and their attendants. Certainly such a service tends to deepen impressively their realization of the sacred nature of the marriage obligation.

In November of 1942, the Reverend Walter M. Stone published in *The Seminar Quarterly* a suggested form for the celebration of the Lord's Supper as a part of the marriage ceremony. This is certainly possible, and doubtless there are circumstances where it would be perfectly in order. It is a good service. It is, however, open to some objections. Many of those present at a large church wedding are from other churches or from no church at all, and are therefore not likely to be sympathetic or spiritually receptive to the prolongation of the marriage service by the interpolation of a service alien to their experience. Further, if the communion is administered to all present it would unduly extend the time of the service; if it is received only by the bridal party it is hardly a true communion.* If the wedding is

* However, my friend Dr. Boynton Merrill, Minister of the First Congregational Church of Columbus, Ohio, writes me as follows concerning this matter:

in a home, the requisite appointments for communion are not readily available, and the atmosphere of reverence is difficult to create or maintain among a large group of people in festival or convivial mood.

For these and other reasons, many would prefer that the Lord's Supper, when celebrated in connection with a marriage, should be held privately, preferably at the church, in advance of the actual wedding, the communicants being the small group of persons suggested above.

Still another pastoral opportunity for the minister to suggest a private communion *en famille* is just before some member of it is to leave the family circle. If a member of a church family is being called into the armed services in time of war, or returning to duty following a furlough; or if a son or daughter is leaving for school in a distant city, what is more fitting than that the strain of parting should be eased by the celebration of that Sacrament which gives assurance of unbreakable fellowship in Christ through the Church? It would seem most fitting, generally, that such private communion services as these should also be held in church—in a small chapel if one is available, otherwise in the chancel of the church itself.

There is no reason for us of the Free Church tradition to allow the Roman Catholics, the Episcopalians, and the Lutherans to monopolize the occasions for the

“I believe in the ‘Nuptial Mass.’ For sincere and desirous Christians I consecrated the elements in a brief prayer as they knelt for the closing prayers of the wedding service, and I and they alone partook. It was brief (not more than two or three minutes); it made their *first act* as man and wife a deeply religious one of communion—spiritual communion. It delayed nothing, was privately personal and very deeply significant. A friend saw it once, and said it was the most perfect religious act of public worship he had ever witnessed.” Certainly this is worth any minister's serious consideration.

private use of this Sacrament of great comfort. Multitudes of their people have received spiritual comfort from its observance in such circumstances as these here outlined and others. Let our people likewise receive its comfortable ministrations in their hours of personal need.

A SUGGESTED FORM FOR THE PRIVATE CELEBRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER

Let the Minister, standing by the Table on which are set the vessels and the elements of the Communion, first read from Holy Scripture some passage or passages appropriate to the occasion. Some which might be used are the following:

John 3:16-21

I Corinthians 11:23-29

Psalm 3

Psalm 43

John 6:47-51, 53-58 }

I John 5:13-15, 18-20 }

John 6:35-40

(For a Communion
with the sick)

(For a Communion
with the dying)

Matthew 19:4-6 }

Genesis 24:61-67 }

Genesis 12:1-4a, 5-8 }

Hebrews 11:8-10 }

(Before a marriage)

(When one is leaving
the home)

The Communion Invocation

The Minister: Let us pray.

Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid, cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Invitation

The Minister: Ye who do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbors, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in His holy ways, re-

ceive this Sacrament to your comfort, and together let us make our humble confession to Almighty God.

The Prayer of Confession and Forgiveness (All present joining with the Minister)

We do not presume to come to this Thy Table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in Thy manifold and great mercies. Restore us who here penitently confess before Thee our sins and misdoings toward our fellow men and toward Thee. Thou hast promised forgiveness to all those who with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto Thee. Have mercy upon us. Pardon and deliver us from all our sins. Confirm and strengthen us in all goodness, and bring us to everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord, in whose name we pray—

Our Father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

The Blessing and Distribution of the Bread

The Minister: Our Lord Jesus, in the night in which he was betrayed, took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me. May this bread, symbol of his body, preserve you pure and undefiled unto everlasting life as you take and eat it in remembrance that Christ died for you, and feed on him in your heart by faith, with thanksgiving.

Here let the Bread be given to the people by a Deacon, if one be present, or by the Minister.

The Blessing and Distribution of the Cup

The Minister: Likewise after supper he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink

ye all of this, for this is my blood of the New Covenant, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins. Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me. May this fruit of the vine, symbol of his blood, preserve you pure and undefiled unto everlasting life, as you drink it in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for you, and are thankful.

Here let the Cup be given to the people by a Deacon, if one be present, or by the Minister.

The Closing Prayer of Thanksgiving and Petition
(Here let the Minister offer prayer appropriate to the particular occasion.)

The Benediction

* * * * *

(When extreme illness or weakness or other unavoidable circumstances make it advisable, the service may be shortened to include only (1) a brief Scripture reading, (2) prayer by the Minister, (3) the blessing and distribution of the elements, and (4) the benediction.)

PRAYERS

(These prayers, or other like, may appropriately be offered by the Minister at the close of the service, or may form the substance of the communicants' preparatory devotion before the service of communion.)

Communion Prayers

Eternal, Holy, and Almighty God, whose name is love, we are met in solemn company to seek thy face, and in spirit and truth to worship thee. We come in deep humility and in sincere penitence. We come to make our wills one with thine; we come for solemn and yet joyous communion with thee; we come to open our hearts to thy holy presence. Deeper than we have ever known, enter thou our lives, O thou Maker of

our souls; clearer than we have ever seen, let thy glory dawn upon our sight. Light thy flame upon the altar of our hearts; call forth the incense of prayer, and awaken the song of praise. Manifest thyself to us all, we beseech thee, as now we consecrate ourselves anew in this holy Sacrament to thy service, in Christ's name. Amen. (The Book of Common Worship)

* * * * *

Our Father, who hast called us into the fellowship of Thy Son, draw us closer to Thee in this hour of meditation and communion. May our hearts be open to every holy affection and our minds ready to receive and cherish every sacred truth and serious impression. Enlarge our vision, deepen our loyalty, increase our faith, and enrich us anew with Thine own divine love. We pray in Jesus' name. Amen. (H. P. Guhse)

* * * * *

Blessed Lord, who for our sakes wast content to bear sorrow and want and death, grant unto us such a measure of thy Spirit that we may follow thee in all self-denial and tenderness of soul. Help us, by thy great love, to succor the afflicted, to relieve the needy and destitute, to share the burdens of the heavy-laden, and ever to see thee in all that are poor and desolate. Amen. (Brooke Foss Westcott)

* * * * *

O Almighty Lord, and everlasting God, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, to direct, sanctify, and govern, both our hearts and bodies, in the ways of thy laws, and in the works of thy commandments; that, through thy most mighty protection, both here and ever, we may be preserved in body and soul, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

(The Book of Common Prayer)

* * * * *

A Prayer for Health and Healing

Almighty God, who art the only source of health and healing, the spirit of calm and the central peace of the universe, grant to us, Thy children, such a consciousness of Thy indwelling presence as may give us utter confidence in Thee. In all pain and weariness and anxiety may we throw ourselves upon Thy besetting care, that, knowing ourselves fenced about

by Thy power and love, we may permit Thee to give us health and strength and peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(Charles Morris Addison)

A Prayer in Time of War

Almighty Father of all mankind, whose love doth embrace all human creatures, of whatsoever race or creed or color, look with pity upon Thy sorrowing and suffering children in a world torn by the scourge of war. Rend the veil of misunderstanding which leads men who should live as brethren to lift violent hands one against another. Rebuke and subdue the defiant spirits of those selfish men who have brought such horrors upon us. Soften the bitterness of separation which parts husbands, sons, and fathers from their loved ones at home. In all lands comfort the bereaved, we beseech Thee, protect the innocent, and receive the fallen into the hands of Thine everlasting mercy.

Banish hatred at the hands of love, and hasten the day, we pray, when the nations shall walk once more in the ways of justice and truth, and peace shall reign again upon the earth.

In the name of Christ Jesus, the Prince of Peace, we offer this our fervent and humble prayer. Amen. (E.S.F.)

CHAPTER XV

ONE SUGGESTED ORDER FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER

WHAT FOLLOWS IS, of course, only intended to be suggestive, not something literally to be followed at all times or without variation. The genius of our non-liturgical Churches lies precisely in the liberty they possess to be eclectic—gathering from all available sources the best materials for worship. The order of worship here outlined does, however, aim to fulfil in its general framework the requirements for a modern liturgy of the Lord's Supper discussed in Chapters IX and XII. These are, it will be remembered, commemoration, fellowship, thanksgiving, sacrifice, and mystery. It attempts also to observe the steps by which the ritual ought, as was said, to rise to a climax in the communion of the people and in a post-communion act of thanksgiving.

It should also be understood, naturally, that such hymns may be interspersed and such musical responses employed as will enhance the spirit of reverence and devotion which ought always to characterize the celebration of the Lord's Supper. No attempt is made, therefore, to prescribe incidental music or even to suggest hymns. The purpose of this chapter is only to set down one possible order, leaving ample room for varia-

tion in accordance with the needs and desires of the congregation, and in accordance with the many different occasions upon which the Lord's Supper may properly be celebrated.

This suggested order now follows:

[CONFESSION AND FORGIVENESS]

Minister: Hear what our Lord Jesus Christ saith: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Minister: And the second commandment is like unto the first: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets.

People: Lord, have mercy upon us, and write these Thy laws in our hearts, we beseech Thee.

Minister: Lord, have mercy upon us.

People: Christ, have mercy upon us.

Minister: Lord, have mercy upon us. Let us pray.

Minister and People: Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, who of Thy great mercy hast promised forgiveness of sins to all those who with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto Thee, have mercy upon us, pardon and deliver us from all our sins; confirm and strengthen us in all goodness, and bring us to everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[INSTRUCTION]

The Sermon or Communion Meditation by the Minister.

[DEVOTIONAL PREPARATION FOR COMMUNION]

Minister: Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all who truly turn to him:

Come unto me, all ye that travail and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you.

So God loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

Take my yoke upon you and learn of me ; for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls.

Lift up your hearts.

People: We lift them up unto the Lord.

Minister: Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

People: It is meet and right so to do.

Minister: It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God.

Therefore, with the company of Thy holy Church militant and triumphant, we laud and magnify Thy glorious Name, evermore praising Thee, and saying—

Minister and People: (To be said or sung) Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts. Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory. Glory be to Thee, O Lord most high.

Minister: Let us pray.

O Lord and Heavenly Father, according to the institution of Thy Son Christ our Lord, we celebrate here before Thee, with these gifts which now we offer unto Thee, the memorial Thy Son hath commanded us to make. Here also we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, our selves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto Thee, humbly beseeching Thee that we and all others who shall be partakers of this Sacrament may worthily receive it to our souls' good, be filled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with Christ, that he may dwell in us and we in him.

We do not presume to come to this Thy Table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in Thy manifold and great mercies. Make us truly and earnestly repentant of our misdoings, O our Father. Help us, we pray, to be in love and charity with our neighbors; strengthen our intention to lead a new life, following Thy commandments and walking from henceforth in Thy holy ways, that we may take this Sacrament to our great comfort, and to the good of our fellow men.

As this bread was scattered upon the mountains, and having been gathered together became one loaf, so also, O Lord, gather Thy holy Church from every race and every country and city and village and household, and make it a living and a universal Church.

And now, as our Saviour Christ hath taught us, we are bold to say

OUR FATHER, who art in Heaven. . . .

(Here may be sung a Hymn)

[THE BLESSING OF THE BREAD AND THE CUP, AND COMMUNION]

Minister: In the night in which he was betrayed, Jesus, being at supper with the disciples, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you; Do this in remembrance of me.

So also I, ministering in his name, do break this bread before you in obedience to his command. May it preserve us, pure and undefiled, unto everlasting life. Take and eat it in remembrance that Christ died for us, and feed on him in your hearts by faith, with thanksgiving.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BREAD TO THE PEOPLE

Minister: Likewise, after supper, Jesus took the cup, and when he had given thanks he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins; Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.

So also I, ministering in his name, do take this cup before you, in obedience to his command. May it preserve us, pure and undefiled, unto everlasting life. Drink it, in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for you, and be thankful.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE CUP TO THE PEOPLE

[THANKSGIVING]

Minister: Let us pray.

Grant, O Lord, that the ears which have heard the voice of Thy songs may be closed to the voices of clamor and dispute;

that the eyes which have seen Thy great love may also behold Thy blessed hope; that the tongues which have sung Thy praise may speak ever the truth; that the feet which have walked in Thy courts may walk in the regions of light; and that the souls of all who have received Thy blessed Sacrament may be restored to newness of life. Thanks be to Thee for Thine unspeakable gift. Amen.

The Benediction.

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NOTES

CHAPTER I

AT THE LORD'S TABLE

¹ G. A. Johnston Ross, "Christian Worship and Its Nature." (New York: Abington Press, 1927). Chapter V

² Willard L. Sperry, "Reality in Worship." (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925). P. 166

³ Dwight Bradley, "Creative Worship." (New York: National Council of the Congregational Churches, 1931). P. 16

⁴ D. H. Hislop, "Our Heritage in Public Worship." (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1935). P. 13

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11

⁶ Alfred L. Lilley, "Sacraments." (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929). Pp. 124-5

CHAPTER II

THE LAST SUPPER

¹ Lilley, *op. cit.*, p. 119

² Oliver Chase Quick, "The Christian Sacraments." (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1927). P. 109

³ Seth R. Huntington, "The Eucharist in Early Christianity." (Thesis: Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois, 1930). Chapter I

⁴ William D. Maxwell, "An Outline of Christian Worship." (London: Oxford University Press, 1936). Pp. 5-7

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Arthur Wright, "Some New Testament Problems." (London: Methuen, 1898). Chapter XIII

⁷ Arthur Cushman McGiffert, "History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age." (New York: Scribner's, 1897). Pp. 68-9, Note 2

⁸ George H. C. Macgregor, "Eucharistic Origins." (London: J. Clarke & Co., Ltd., 1929). P. 27

⁹ Ibid., pp. 102-4

CHAPTER III

THE LAST SUPPER BECOMES THE LORD'S SUPPER

¹ I Corinthians 10:15-17; 11:20-34

² Acts 2:42,46; 20:7-11, especially verses 7 and 11

³ W. O. E. Oesterley, "The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy." (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1925). P. 95

⁴ Ibid., pp. 102-6

⁵ William D. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 9

⁶ George H. C. Macgregor, op. cit., pp. 113-7

⁷ Yngve Brilioth, "Eucharistic Faith and Practice, Evangelical and Catholic." (London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1931). P. 12

⁸ John Fitz-Stephen Keating, "The Agape and the Eucharist in the Early Church." (London: Methuen & Co., 1901)

⁹ Compare Mark 16:14, Luke 24:36-43, John 20:19-25 and 26-39, Acts 1:12 and 2:1

¹⁰ Robert W. Adamson, "The Christian Doctrine of the Lord's Supper." (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1925). Pp. 22-3.

¹¹ Other New Testament references to the same general effect are Ephesians 5:18, Jude 12, II Peter 2:13

¹² William D. Maxwell, op. cit., pp. 12-3 and throughout.

CHAPTER IV

THE LORD'S SUPPER AND ITS RIVALS, THE MYSTERY RELIGIONS

¹ William Ralph Inge, "Christian Mysticism." (New York: Scribner's, 1899). P. 354

² Harold R. Willoughby, "Pagan Regeneration." (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), and Samuel Angus, "The Mystery Religions and Christianity." (London: J. Murray, 1925)

³ Samuel Angus, "The Environment of Early Christianity." (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915)

⁴ Samuel Angus, "The Mystery Religions and Christianity." P. 276

⁵ Franz V. M. Cumont, "The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism." (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company, 1911). Pp. 28, 44

⁶ Paul may also have been familiar with the Eleusinian mystery, since Eleusis was not far out of the course of his travels. Possibly I Corinthians 15:36-38 is an indirect reference to its teaching.

⁷ Harold R. Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 163

⁸ Samuel Angus, "The Mystery Religions and Christianity." Pp. 247-65

⁹ But it is well to keep in mind Macgregor's suggestion, already mentioned, that Mithraism probably borrowed at this point from Christian symbolism, rather than the reverse.

¹⁰ Yngve Brilioth, *op. cit.*, p. 68

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 64

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-4

¹⁴ Edward Gibbon, "The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850). Chapter XV

¹⁵ Joseph Ernst Renan, "Studies in the History of Religion," p. 188.

Quoted by Angus, "The Mystery Religions and Christianity," p. 273

¹⁶ John S. Blackie, "Daybook of John S. Blackie," p. 27. Quoted by Angus, *op. cit.*, p. 273

¹⁷ William E. H. Lecky, "History of European Morals from Augustine to Charlemagne." (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1869)

¹⁸ Arthur C. McGiffert, Article: "The Influence of Christianity in the Roman Empire." Harvard Theological Review, Volume II; pp. 43f

CHAPTER V

THE LORD'S SUPPER BECOMES A SACRIFICE

¹ Francis C. Burkitt, "Eucharist and Sacrifice." (Cambridge: W. Heffner & Sons, 1927)

² Francis C. Burkitt, *op. cit.*, p. 11

³ Oliver C. Quick, *op. cit.*, p. 193

⁴ W. O. E. Oesterley, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-9

⁵ Yngve Brilioth, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-8

⁶ William D. Maxwell, *op. cit.*

⁷ Francis C. Burkitt, *op. cit.*, p. 24

⁸ John Williamson Nevin, "The Mystical Presence." (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippencott & Co., 1846). Pp. 128-9

⁹ L. W. Dale, "Essays and Addresses." (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Co., 1899). P. 312

¹⁰ According to Alan Coates Bouquet, "The Real Presence." (Cambridge: University Press, 1928). P. 50

¹¹ Quoted by John W. Nevin, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-6

¹² Apostolic Constitutions, Book viii

¹³ W. O. E. Oesterley, *op. cit.*, Chapter IX

¹⁴ William D. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-5, which is here followed, in summary.

¹⁵ W. K. Lowther Clarke (ed.), "Liturgy and Worship." (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932). P. 328

¹⁶ According to Adrian Fortesque, "The Mass; A Study of the Roman Liturgy." (London, New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1926). P. 187

CHAPTER VI

THE LORD'S SUPPER IS REFORMED BY THE REFORMERS

¹ Robert M. Adamson (*op. cit.*, Chapter V) quite truly says that the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith doomed not only the technical doctrine of transubstantiation, but also the teaching that the Sacraments were efficacious by simply being celebrated, whether believed in or not.

² John Calvin, "Catechism Tracts," ii, 91

³ John Calvin, "Short Treatise Tracts," ii, 170

⁴ John Calvin, "Institutes of Religion," Book ii, Chapter 17

⁵ A. Barclay, "The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper," quoted by William D. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 81

⁶ From a confession written by Zwingli to King Francis

⁷ William D. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 72

CHAPTER VII

THE LORD'S SUPPER IS ANGLICIZED BY THE ANGLICANS

¹ Yngve Brilioth, *op. cit.*, p. 199

² This is true doctrinally as well, though outward submission to of-

ficial statement was required. For example, Newman, even after he became a Roman Catholic, could still say, "He (our Lord) is in the Eucharist after the manner of a spirit."

³ John T. McNeill, "Makers of Christianity." (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1937). Volume II, p. 196

⁴ In one of Calvin's "Articles of Religion," published at about the same time as this book, transubstantiation is expressly denied.

⁵ In such books as "The Body of Christ."

⁶ Yngve Brilioth, *op. cit.*, p. 216

⁷ The "epiclesis" is weak in the English Prayer Book, a theologian would say, because of the omission of the Invocation to the Holy Spirit from the Prayer of Consecration. The American Protestant Episcopal Church, however, has this Invocation.

This came about when Samuel Seabury, in 1784, sought and obtained from the Scotch non-juring bishops his consecration as the first Episcopal bishop in the new United States of America. They (the bishops) made it an informal condition of his consecration that he would try to have the Prayer of Consecration in the forthcoming American Prayer Book follow their fuller and more ancient form, which at his insistence was done.

⁸ H. J. Wotherspoon, in his "Religious Values in the Sacraments" (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928) has in Chapter VII some interesting and acute observations to make concerning the distinction between the "validity" of the Sacrament (a question we mortals cannot answer) and its "lawfulness" (which we can).

CHAPTER VIII

THE LORD'S SUPPER IN CONTEMPORARY PROTESTANTISM

¹ In Hastings One-Volume Bible Dictionary. Article: "Sacrament."

² In Schaff-Herzog "Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge." Article: "Sacrament."

³ In the "Second Office of Instruction," Protestant Episcopal Prayer Book, Revision of 1929

⁴ Oliver C. Quick, *op. cit.*, p. 108

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-6

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 110f

⁷ A. C. Bouquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-4

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Robert W. Adamson, *op. cit.*, p. 165

¹⁰ Quoted by Adamson (*ibid.*) from Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity."

¹¹ A. C. Bouquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-4

¹² Alfred North Whitehead, "Symbolism, Its Meaning and Effect." (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927). Summarized by A. C. Bouquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-2

¹³ Nathaniel Micklem (ed.), "Christian Worship. Studies in Its History and Meaning." (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936). Chapter 15

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 241

CHAPTER IX

REQUIREMENTS FOR A MODERN LITURGY OF THE LORD'S SUPPER

¹ William E. Barton, "The Law of Congregational Usage." (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1923). P. 369

² Fabritius, quoted by Samuel Mather in his "Apology," p. 61. This in turn is quoted by William E. Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 358

³ See Note 19 of Chapter XII.

⁴ James D. Morrison, "Ministers' Service Book." (Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, 1937). P. 125

⁵ Wilbur P. Thirkield and Oliver Huckel, "Book of Common Worship." (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, ed., 1936)

⁶ Walter Rauschenbusch, "Prayers of the Social Awakening." (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910)

CHAPTER X

THE LORD'S SUPPER—BRIDGE OR BARRIER TO CHRISTIAN REUNION

¹ In an article, "Intercommunion, Means and Goal" in "Christendom," Spring Quarter, 1938

² This is elaborated by Dean Willard L. Sperry in an article "American Christianity and the Church Universal" in "Christendom," Winter Quarter, 1938

³ Book of Common Prayer of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. Preface to the Ordinal.

⁴ See Note 8 of Chapter VII.

⁵ Archbishop William Temple, in an article "Toward Christian Unity" in "Christendom," Winter Quarter, 1938.

⁶ *New York Times* of April 25, 1938.

⁷ Article cited.

⁸ Thus summarized by Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison in an article entitled "South India Rapprochement" in "Christendom," Spring Quarter, 1938. As this book goes to press (January, 1945), the Plan has still not been consummated, largely because of the objection of the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Anglican Church.

⁹ Printed in full in "Christendom," Spring Quarter, 1938. These conversations have been largely held in abeyance since the beginning of war in 1939, but are by no means dead.

¹⁰ Archbishop William Temple, article cited.

CHAPTER XI

THE ETHICAL DYNAMIC OF THE LORD'S SUPPER

¹ These three paragraphs are quoted, with slight changes in wording, from a pamphlet entitled "As I Come to the Communion Service," published by the Department of Evangelism of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The author is not named, but it was originally issued by the General Council of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.

² William Temple, "Christ the Truth." (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.). Pp. 228, 299

CHAPTER XII

THE SPIRITUAL DYNAMIC OF THE LORD'S SUPPER

¹ Charles Gore, "The Body of Christ." (New York: Scribner's, 1902). Chapter X

² Robert Will, "Le Culte: Etude d'histoire et de Philosophie Religieuse" (Strasbourg: Istra, 1935). Volume II, p. 552

³ Evelyn Underhill, "Worship." (London: Nisbet & Co., 1936). P. 123

⁴ Yngve Brilioth, op. cit.

⁵ Ibid., Chapter II, and elsewhere

⁶ Evelyn Underhill, op. cit., Chapter VIII

⁷ L. Duchesne, "Christian Worship; Its Origin and Evolution," translated from the 3rd French edition by M. L. McClure, 2nd edition. (London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1904)

⁸ George H. C. Macgregor, *op. cit.*, p. 109

⁹ The three-fold Sanctus appeared in practically its present form in Bishop Sarapion's Liturgy, about 200 A.D.

¹⁰ Book of Common Prayer of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. The post-communion prayer of thanksgiving.

¹¹ Matthew 26:27; Mark 14:23; Luke 22:17,19

¹² Frank Gavin, "The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments." (London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1928). Chapter III

¹³ Charles Gore, *op. cit.*, p. 329

¹⁴ Evelyn Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 84

¹⁵ Psalm 50:10-12

¹⁶ Micah 6:6-8

¹⁷ Book of Common Prayer of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. The Prayer of Consecration in the Communion Office.

¹⁸ Exodus 3:5

¹⁹ Quoted in "The Communion Service"—a symposium on worship published by the Commission on Evangelism and Devotional Life of the Congregational Christian Churches. No date.

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